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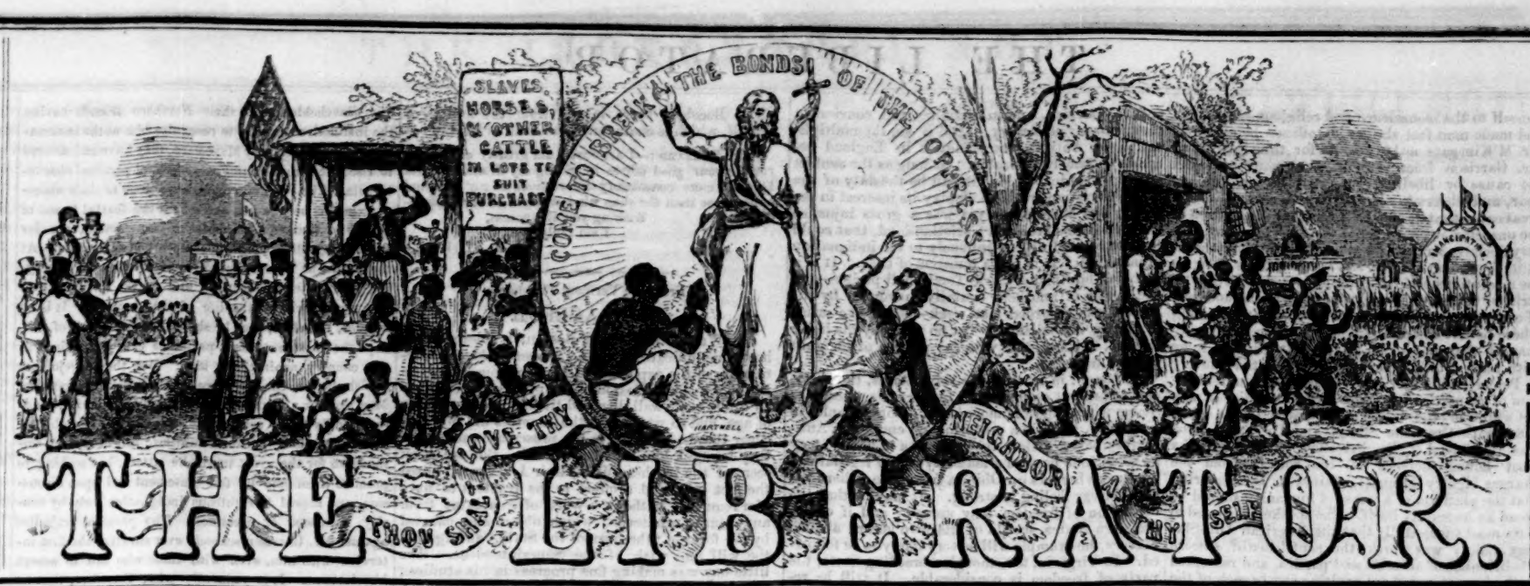
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☞ In the columns of THE LIBERATOR, both sides of every question are impartially allowed a hearing.



No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS 'A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.'

☞ 'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions TO SECURE THE PERPETUITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was THE STIPULATION TO SURRENDER FUGITIVE SLAVES—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—for articles of merchandize, under the name of persons . . . . , in fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress; AND THEREBY TO MAKE THE PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—*John Quincy Adams.*

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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SELECTIONS.

THE MODERN CHURCH AND CLERGY.

Extracts from a volume just published by Little, Brown & Co., Boston, entitled 'Sermons of Theism, Atheism, and Popular Theology,' by THEODORE PARKER.

Eighteen hundred years, with threescore generations of men, have passed by since Paul first went to Rome. What a change since then! It is worth while to look at the ecclesiastical condition of Christendom at this day. The Christian Church has very great truths, which will last forever. But as a whole, it seems to me that, at this day, the Christian Church is in a state of decay. I do not mean to say that Religion decays—piety and morality: the sun will fade out of the heavens before they perish out of man's heart. But the power of that institution which is called the Christian Church, the power of the priesthood of the Christian Church,—that is assuredly in a state of decay. It has separated itself from new science, the fresh thought of mankind; from new morality, the fresh practical life of mankind; from new justice; from new philanthropy; from new piety. It looks back for its inspiration. Its God is a dead God; its Christ is a crucified Christ; all its saints are dead men; its theology is a dead science, its vaunted miracles only of old time, not now. Paul asked for these three things,—liberty, equality, brotherhood.—Does the Christian Church ask for any of the three? It does not trust human nature in its normal action; does not look to the human mind for truth, nor the human conscience for justice, nor the human heart and soul for love and faith. It does not trust the living God, now revealing himself in the fresh flowers of to-day, and the fresh consciousness of man. It looks back to some alleged action in the history of mankind, counting the history of man better than man's nature. It looks back to some alleged facts in the history of God, counting those fictitious miracles as greater than the nature of God; He has done his best, spoken for the last time!

The Protestants worship the Bible, with its Old Testament and New; that is infallible. The Bible is the religion of the Protestants, as the Church is the religion of the Catholics, and the Koran of the Mahometans. This is the ultimate source of religious doctrine, the ultimate standard of religious practice. Here the Protestant sects are unitary; even the Universalists and Unitarians agree in this same thing, or profess to do so.

Then the Protestants differ about the doctrines of that infallible word; and so while one hand of Protestantism is clenched on the Bible, the other is divided into a great many fingers, each pointing to its own creed as the infallible interpretation of the infallible word: the one pencil of white Protestant sunshine, drawn from the Bible, is broken by the historic prism into manifold rays of antithetic color. . . .

The Christian Churches have broken with science, and are afraid of new thought. This is somewhat less true of the Protestant than of the Catholic priesthood. They have broken also with fresh morality, and are afraid of that. And so the Christian Church to-day is very much in the same condition that Heathenism and Judaism were at the time when Paul first went to Rome. . . .

In the Christian church there are many churches. But there is not one that bears the same relation to the civilization of the world, which Paul bore eighteen hundred years ago. He looked forward; they look back. He asked liberty of thought and speech; they are afraid of both. There is not a Christian government which has not some statute forbidding freedom of thought and speech. Even on the statute books of Massachusetts, there slumbers a law, prohibiting a man to speak lightly of any of the doctrines in this blessed Bible; and it is not twenty years since a magistrate of this State asked the grand jury of a county, to find a true bill against a learned Doctor of Divinity, who had written an article, proving there was no prophecy in the Old Testament which pointed a plain finger to the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

All over Europe, religion is supported by the state, by the arm of the law. The clergy wish it to be so, and they say Christianity would fail if it were not. Hence come the costly national churches of Europe, wherein the priest sits on the cartridge box, supported by bayonets, a drum for his sounding-board, and preaches in the name of the Prince of Peace, having cannon balls to enforce his argument. What a contrast, between the national churches of Russia, Austria, Prussia, England, and the first church which Paul gathered in his prison-house, where he preached with his left hand chained to a soldier's right hand, 'his bodily presence weak, and his speech contemptible.'

Once the Christian Church fostered the actual humanities of the times. There was not a temperance society in the world; the Church was the temperance society. There was not a peace society, the Church was the peace society: not an education society; the Church opened her motherly arms to many a poor man's son who had talent, and gave him education; and he walked through the cathedral door into the college, thence to the great mountain of the world, and climbed as high as he could get. Now as the Church is in the process of decay, we need special missionary societies, societies for preventing drunkenness and every vice. The function of the ancient Church has passed to other hands. She teaches only from memory of times long past. The national churches apologize for the national sins, and defend them. In Europe, the established clergy are seldom friendly to any movement for the benefit of mankind. In America, it is they who are eminent supporters of every public enormity which the nation loves, willing to send their mother into slavery, pressing the Bible into the ranks of American sin. . . .

It is for earnest men of this age to protest against the evils of the Christian Church, as Luther against the Catholic Church, as Paul against the Heathen, as Christ against the Hebrew Church. This can be done only by a Piety deeper, a Philanthropy wider, and a Theology profounder than the Church has ever known; by a life which, like Luther's, Paul's, Christ's, puts the vulgar life of the churches all to shame. The new Church must gather to its bosom all the truth, the righteousness and beauty of the old world, and add other excellence new got from God. Piety must be applied to all daily life, to politics, to literature, to all business: it must be the creed which a man repeats as he hands goods over his counter, repeats with his hands, which he works into every thing that he manufactures. This is a Piety already on its way to success, and sure to triumph.

There are evils which demand a religious hand to redress them. The slave is to be freed, the State and Society to be reorganized; woman is to be elevated to her natural place; political corruption to be buried in its grave. Pauperism is to end, war to cease, and the insane lust of our times for gold and pleasure is to be tamed and corrected.—This can be done only by a deep religious life in the heart of the people. All great civilizations begin with God.

From the Commonwealth.

HOPE H. SLATTER.

BALTIMORE, Sept. 18, 1853.

EDITOR OF COMMONWEALTH:—DEAR SIR:—The papers of to-day record the death of Hope H. Slatter, at Mobile, by yellow fever.

Your readers may, perhaps, be interested in knowing something more of this individual. I shall not attempt his eulogy, nor would I entirely forget the maxim which enjoins to tread lightly o'er the ashes of the dead.

Mr. Slatter was a man of intelligence, of handsome address, and of uncommon business tact. A man, who, for more than a quarter of a century, occupied a very prominent, yet, not an enviable position, before the public.

He has now gone to his rest. His *rest?* Ask the hundreds of thousands of wretched beings whom he has made merchandise, whether *they* believe there is any rest for the soul of Hope H. Slatter.

He came to this city from Virginia, and resided for many years on West Ball street, where he had an office, and a pen in which to confine human cattle. A large portion of the slaves from Maryland, the District of Columbia, and the northern part of Virginia, destined for the far South, passed through his hands, and were made acquainted with the luxurious accommodations of his prison.

I know not that Slatter has ever been charged with using unnecessary severity in the prosecution of his nefarious business. He was wont to distribute tobacco among his 'boys,' and furnish them with a violin, that they might dance and make merry over their joyous prospects. Nero fiddled while Rome was burning. Slatter refined upon the cruelty of the old heathen tyrant. He sets the city on fire, and then persuades the *Romans* to fiddle and dance, in full view of the conflagration of their own domicils.

His custom was to ship his negroes on Saturday night. He doubtless had reasons for this, satisfactory to himself. I can think of none better than the following:—

He claimed to be a humane man, and therefore wished not to offend the sensibilities of his neighbors.

Second. To diminish the care of his own household, and allow them to prepare for a becoming observance of the approaching Sabbath.

Third. Admitting that slavery is a *Christian* institution, he might justly suppose that the nearer the center of its operations, the nearer to glory; and that, by starting them off to New Orleans on the morning of the Sabbath, they might all sing, (Mr. S. was a Methodist; that he was,) 'I am bound to Canaan, my happy home, will you go to glory with me?'

I once witnessed one of these shipments. 'Twas on a dreary Saturday night, in the midst of a pitiless north-east storm, after the hum of business had subsided, and most of the honest free people of Baltimore had retired to rest.

Happening to pass Slatter's place of business, I observed an omnibus being loaded with men, women, and children, from the office. This soon moved off, and another took its place, which, in like manner, was filled with human flesh.

The men were chained in pairs. Many of the women had children. I counted more than twenty infants in their mothers' arms, and about sixty whom I judged to be under twelve, in this lot of two hundred.

Of these mothers, some were of fairer complexion than he who claimed to be their master, and presumed to make merchandise of them—yea, fairer far, and more Saxon-like, than those whom he had educated at great expense, and decorated with silks and jewelry, and taught to call him 'father.'

But these were nought but negro slaves. With solemn tread and downcast looks, they moved on to take their places in the coach.

Mr. S. was present, and seemed deeply interested in efforts to make them all *comfortable;* helping the children and the mothers to seats, and especially in seeing that each coach was provided with a suitable force of outriders to assist in case of accidents.

About twenty omnibuses were thus loaded with *emigrants*, who, to suit the conveniences of certain parties, were about to seek a residence in milder climes. Husbands, wives, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters, fathers and mothers, all indiscriminately torn from home, and all of earth that was dear, and shipped far away to distant lands to be sold to the highest bidder; just as we ship and sell mules and peacocks! Hail, Columbia, happy land!

Following in the wake, I subsequently stood upon the wharf, and witnessed the embarkation. And a sad spectacle it was. As one by one they descended from the coach, carrying each his little all of worldly effects in a bundle, and with difficulty ascended the slippery sides of the barges, and turned, before going into the hold, to take a last view of dear native land, (no people on the face of the globe have stronger local attachments than the negro slave,) I tried to read their dusky visages. Some seemed indifferent; others looked sullen like; and others still, exhibited intensity of mental suffering. Those who assert that the negro don't feel—that he is too ignorant, too degraded, for acute mental suffering—should have read the countenances of some of those mothers; they would have been compelled to acknowledge that 'affection dwelt in white and black the same.'

Slatter was standing upon deck, smiling most blandly—most Pecksniffianly upon every one as he passed, and saying to the anguished girls, 'Never mind, Molly, you'll find another husband, better than the one you have left;' and encouraging an old negro, in the hold, to scrape away upon a cracked fiddle, that the 'boys' might dance.

As I wended my way back to the city, I could not suppress the inquiry, is this a Christian city—is this indeed a free country? And when, on the following Sabbath, I saw Slatter take his seat in the Charles street Methodist chapel, where he claimed to be a church member in good and regular standing, I was reminded of the woman who wiped her mouth, and inquired what evil she had done. Would not Christ say of such worshippers, 'Oh generation of vipers!'

Slatter knew he was engaged in a bad business. A gentleman once remarked to him, 'Your business must be very profitable.' 'One ought to be well paid to engage in such business,' was the reply. Having accumulated a large fortune, he sold out his stall and *good will* to the Campbells, who are still carrying on the vile traffic, and retired to private life. It proved more private than was to his liking. Slatter was ever an ambitious man, and now he panted for the pleasures of good society, and doubted not but his wealth would purchase him admission. But he counted without his host. He found, when too late, that the shirt of Nessus was upon him, and even gold was not potent enough to remove it. He purchased a splendid mansion in a genteel neighborhood, filled it with elegant furniture, rode in the richest carriages, after the gayest horses that could be procured, was attended by a profusion of servants clad in livery, but all to no purpose.

President Polk being about to make a northern tour, Slatter thought to help his social standing by managing to secure him as a guest, while in Baltimore. So when the cars arrived, Mr. S. with a splendid barouche, and four beautiful white horses, was waiting to conduct him through the streets, to his hotel, where he was to be regarded as Mr. Hope H. Slatter's guest. He knew how to play the agreeable, as well as any other man, and he carried this game through in good style. He showed to the upper-tendom of Baltimore, that himself and daughters were on terms of intimacy with the President of the United States. Still 'twas no go. A negro trader was a pill which, however gilded, wealth, talent, and gentility could not, or would not swallow.

Slatter gave up the chase, sold his property in Baltimore, including his pew in the Charles Street Church, and removed to Florida, and purchased a sugar plantation. Not satisfied with having made himself and family princely rich, by traffic in the souls and bodies of men, he must now seek to sweeten the solitude of his declining years with the unrequited toil of those he had previously robbed of freedom. But his hour has come. The grim messenger has summoned him hence. If conscious, what a death-bed scene must his have been! Into the secret of such a heart, oh my soul, come thou not!

LOOKER-ON IN BALTIMORE.

WHAT HAVE ABOLITIONISTS DONE?

The following eloquent effusion upon the course and action of the Abolitionists, by Joseph Barker, was uttered in reply to a Campbellite Minister in Salem, Ohio, who had very sneeringly and contemptuously asked, 'What have Abolitionists done?' and endeavored by misrepresenting, to excite prejudice against them, and hold them up to scorn.—*A. S. Standard.*

You ask 'What have Abolitionists done?' and you intimate that they have done nothing, either in Congress or out of it. I am sorry you are so in the dark on the subject. It is nothing to your credit, sir. I will tell you some things the Abolitionists have done; but I am sorry I cannot do them justice. They have done their duty, sir.—They have satisfied their own consciences. They have freed themselves from responsibility for the inhuman system of Slavery, and for allits infamous and infernal appendages. They have done for the oppressed and plundered, as they would have others do for them. They have crowned themselves with eternal honors. They have earned the gratitude of the world. They have endeared themselves to the lovers of freedom in every land. With the fame of their daring and philanthropy, they have filled the civilized world. They have struck a blow at universal despotism. They have entered the list against oppression and tyranny of every kind, in every land. They have proved themselves the friends of universal freedom. They have broken the silence of death which brooded over this country in reference to Slavery. They have disturbed the slumbers of the Church and State, and rendered it impossible for them ever to sleep again.—They have revived the spirit of freedom in the land, and given new vigor to the cause of humanity in both worlds. They have saved to the country the right of the freedom of the press, and the freedom of speech. We are indebted to the Abolitionists for the privilege of expressing our views in this place, this morning. The priests and the churches stood by, while pro-slavery violence and mobs attempted to silence and gag the whole land. It was but yesterday that the Whigs and Democrats, backed by the priests and churches whose servants and representatives they are, joined to stifle the soul of this great nation. To the Abolitionists we are indebted for the frustration of their deadly plot.

'What have the Abolitionists done?' They have checked the encroachments of the slaveholders, when they were about to rob the nation of its last remains of freedom. They have driven the tyrant backward, and saved the land. They have kindled the fires of freedom in the hearts of millions. They are feeding the holy flame. They have created a new literature, which is an honor to the country, and a blessing to the world. They have frightened the tyrants of the South, and spread dismay throughout all their ranks. They have made them desperate, and caused them to show signs of that madness which precedes destruction. They have divided the churches, and separated the better portion of the members from the worse. They have destroyed the reputation of your pro-slavery churches and clergy both in America and in Europe.—They have made your churches a loathing, and your clergy an abomination. They have shut the English pulpits against your pro-slavery clergy, and closed against them the doors of English hospitality. They have made the vile clerical Editor of your New York *Observer* as loathsome in the eyes of the people of England, as he is mean and devilish in his own soul and character. Respectable families would not admit him into their houses, nor would the clergy themselves admit him into their pulpits, or allow him to sit by their side on the public platform. He had to skulk in darkness, like a thing of shame. They have destroyed the authority of your pro-slavery churches and priesthoods, and lowered the credit of your slaveholding patriarchs. They have shaken the whole framework of your pro-slavery institutions. They have brought us near the glorious consummation, the abolition of the vilest, the most inhuman and infernal system, that ever tortured humanity, or crushed the creation of God.

And they will finish the work, amidst the shout of enraptured millions, whilst your idle, selfish, cowardly, treacherous churches and priesthoods shall go down with the accursed system they have fostered, to the deepest and darkest hell in all God's universe.

The Abolitionists have done more than this; and they have done it under the most unfavorable circumstances. They have done it with the church and ministry against them. They have done it with the power of the government against them. They have done it with a powerful and unprincipled press against them. They have done it in the face of mobs and Government prosecutions. They have done it in the face of danger and death.

Yes, sir, the *Abolitionists* have done this, and not *you*. The slaveholders know whose work it is that threatens their unholy gains. It is not you or Alexander Campbell that they abuse. It is not the church and clergy they hate, and seek to destroy. It is not your silent and peaceful reformers that they brand as traitors. It is the 'Infidel' Abolitionists; it is 'Infidelity' that troubles the tyrants. It has always been so. The reformatory principle has always been denounced as 'Infidelity' by the enemies of freedom and humanity. It is so in England; it is so on the continent of Europe. So common is it for unbelievers to be reformers, that reform and infidelity have come to be names of the same signification in the mouths of multitudes. The fact that a man is a reformer is considered proof, the world over, that he is an 'Infidel.' The name Infidel is becoming the most honorable name on earth. Men are learning to glory in it. The man who has a foundry in this town is not ashamed to allow the inscription, 'INFIDEL FOUNDRY,' in front of it, which some of his 'Christian' neighbors traced there as a warning to passers by. He thinks the name INFIDEL more creditable than the name BELIEVER. He is right. As things are going, it is far more honorable than your title of orthodox believer. I had rather a thousand times be denounced as an infidel and blasphemer among mammon-worshippers, child-stealers and man-hunters, and traders in their own flesh and blood, who bleach the complexion of their slaves by incest and adultery, to make them a more marketable commodity, than have the highest honors a pro-slavery church or priesthood has to bestow. The blackest title given me by a kidnapping, slaveholding Church or Government, would be glory itself, compared to the honors to be purchased by such speeches as the one you made this morning, or the infamous doctrine inculcated by your brother Alexander Campbell, in his disgraceful periodical.

From the Carson League.

'CONSTITUTIONALITY.'

Hon. JOHN P. HALE:—

It is time the friends of Freedom were done discussing the 'constitutionality' or 'unconstitutionality' of HUMAN SLAVERY. That is, as relates to constitutions, the work of human hands. Is it, indeed, possible, that any, not heathens, believe that *crime can be made law?* What, a Christian nation *believe* that sin and crime can be made the web and woof of Law! Is murder sin? Why! Because a defiance of God. Is murder crime? Why? Because an invasion and subversion of the Rights of Man. The right to liberty follows necessarily from the right to life; for, by the possession of liberty alone, can the faculties and powers of man be so used as to fulfil the purposes for which life was bestowed. If Murder, then, be sin and crime, so is Slavery. If Murder can be made Law, Slavery can be made Law.

But to my proposition. It is time every man, who *professes* to be a friend of Freedom, should be done discussing the relations of Slavery to Human Law. Human Law cannot make a slave. It never did: it never will. As well might you say, that law had dammed a stream, or built a factory. Law never did dam a stream: it never will.—Words cannot make a slave. Slaves are made by ACTS, not by WORDS.

But why not prove that the sin and crime of slavery are unconstitutional?—that the Fugitive Slave Act is unconstitutional? Suppose you do so prove it. The question exists, if not asked—why do you so prove it? Do you say, so that the shield of the Constitution cannot be invoked to defend and sustain the things done under the Fugitive Act? Do you say that? Then I ask you, if, on so doing, you are not, by all the laws of logic, committed to the position, that if the man on the other side proves them constitutional, the acts done in accordance therewith are fully defended and sustained? If proof of unconstitutionality be a reason why a man may not be made a slave, surely, to prove that it is constitutional, is as cogent and conclusive a reason why he may be made a slave.

Again: You may prove slavery unconstitutional—the Fugitive Slave Act unconstitutional—and have you touched the Right of Property of the slaveholder in the slave? The right of property does not come from any constitution by man—but from the constitution by Deity. Man can no more make a right, than a fixed star. He can only recognize rights. The use of government is to recognize rights, and maintain them. When a statute is made by government to subvert rights, it is Conspiracy; to carry the statute into effect, is Piracy.

Now, by the laws of nature, no man recognizes the Constitution as the foundation of his Right to Property. And, therefore, if you prove the Fugitive Act unconstitutional, does that affect the Right of the slaveholder to property in the one claimed as a slave? It does not touch it! For if that Right exists, it does not have its source in the Constitution; and therefore whatever the Constitution says, or does not say, affects the question neither one way nor the other. Every man *feels* and *knows*, that the *Right* to property comes from the proper exercise of the powers and faculties of his nature. And if you prove the Fugitive Act unconstitutional, the *Right* of the claimant to property in the man claimed is as perfect as if the Act were constitutional.

It follows then, that a 'Constitutional' argument on the subject of slavery is, in itself, a concession of the doctrine that man can hold property in his fellow-man. It does not make any difference which side is taken: for it is only the pitiful thimble-rigger who says—'Heads I win: tails you lose Only a petty larceny man would pretend, that, an argument, the successful side did not win the point. So he who enters the list to prove that, by the Constitution and Fugitive Act, there is no right to make a man a slave, must be ready quietly to bide the issue, if the contrary be proved by these documents.

But do you say that we ought to prove the Fugitive Act unconstitutional, in order thereby to prove that we are not bound by compact to make any man a slave, or to suffer any man to be made a slave? A compact for crime is void!—not voidable, but void! If Slavery be a sin and crime, no compact entered into, in reference to it, can be binding on any human being for an instant.

It is well enough to illustrate the principle by comparison. It is said that, if any one statute is not binding, no one is binding. This is an error, in fact and in logic. Here is one law for property in man: by the side of it, one for property in a house or wagon. Man is the work of God: the house or the wagon, is the work of man. God owns property in Man: Man, in horses and wagons. So that any legislation, pretending to property by man in man, is a conspiracy against God and man: and *any* action to carry such conspiracy into effect, is both blasphemy and piracy. Property in man, therefore, can no more be the *subject* of human legislation, than the circulation of the blood, or the action of the stomach or lungs. Property in horses and wagons *is* a proper subject of legislation, and we are bound to obey the laws that are made in reference to them.

I therefore beg to say, that every word uttered on the constitutionality of slavery, by the professed friends of Freedom, is far worse than thrown away. It is forging fetters for the slave! If man have the Right to make another a slave, it is wholly a matter of policy and discretion with the strongest. If he have not the Right, then to make a slave is piracy. If he have the Right to hold him as a slave, he has the right to take him if he runs away, with or without a constitution: and he is a pirate who prevents his recapture. If he have no Right to hold him as a slave, to take him, or to aid in taking him, when he runs away, is piracy—no less if the Constitution directs or permits it: no more if the Constitution is either silent or denounces it. W. L. CRANDAL.

Syracuse, Sept. 1, 1853.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

MR. EVERETT'S OBITER DICTUM.

We presume there can be no doubt that, in the letter which the late Secretary of State has recently addressed to Lord John Russell, a copy of which appears in another part of this sheet, he has committed a blunder which, in the general judgment of statesmen, is worse than a crime. He has been guilty of the egregious mistake of supposing the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, in his correspondence with our government about the tripartite convention, addressed Edward Everett, instead of addressing the President of the United States, in whose name Mr. Everett professed to write. He forgets that the constitution has assigned to competent hands the duty of responding to Lord John Russell, and that so long as President Pierce does not retract or modify the positions taken by the Secretary of State of Mr. Fillmore, Mr. Fillmore's Secretary can afford to be quiet. It is the government that is primarily concerned to see that its position before the world is not misunderstood, and we submit that in addressing a communication, after his retirement from office, to a member of the British cabinet, upon a subject which was the burden of a diplomatic correspondence between England and America while he was Secretary of State, Mr. Everett has not only taken a liberty, but he has entirely mistaken the relations and functions of a cabinet minister.

We confess to some surprise, that ordinary prudence and self-respect did not prevent Mr. Everett from exposing himself to an antagonist whose official position absolves him from the necessity of taking any public notice whatever of his reply. Lord John Russell's letter was addressed to the Secretary of State, and he is not only not called upon, but he is not at liberty to notice a reply from any person but the Secretary of State.

This is a humiliation to which Mr. Everett has exposed himself unnecessarily, as his case required no tinkering, and if it did, the Secretary of State's office was the place to have it done.

Had Mr. Everett reflected for a single moment upon the consequences of his example, if generally followed, we are sure he would not have placed himself in such a position before the world. Suppose Lord John Russell were to answer this letter, Lord Palmerston or Lord Aberdeen, former Secretaries for Foreign Affairs, would have equal right to address Mr. Marcy upon matters under negotiation during their terms of office, while other American ex-Secretaries, anxious to bring themselves into notice, would not be long in improving Mr. Everett's example. The consequence would be, that it would soon be difficult to ascertain the views of either government upon any subject. The public mind would become so confused by the various side issues made by men out of office, that they could not know what importance to attach to anything said by men in office. The government would have no unity. Our ex-Presidents would continue to carry on their administrations after their terms of office had expired, and their Secretaries would be meddling with the duties of the departments, whenever they found there was danger of their former connection with the government being forgotten.

Mr. Everett's reply is well enough in itself, and if presented as an editorial criticism upon the British Minister's letter, in some respectable journal, it would have made our countryman appear to advantage. We regret that we cannot say as much of his letter, the publication of which is on every account to be regretted.

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

BRITISH FELLOWSHIP FOR PRO-SLAVERY CLERGYMEN.

Knowing the eagerness of our pro-slavery and lower law clergy to cover their sin and shame, under the fellowship of British churches and pulpits, we offer our hearty thanks to the London *Morning Advertiser*, the *Anti-Slavery Advocate*, and all equally faithful journals, for their vigilance and honesty in warning the British public of all such attempts upon their good will. But, notwithstanding this fidelity, we regret to see that the pulpits of well-known Anti-Slavery ministers are in some instances opened to the most jesuitical and dangerous enemies of the Anti-Slavery cause. One such instance, which we confess to have read with surprise, is the reception of the Rev. E. N. Kirk, of Boston, to the pulpit of Surrey Chapel, the pastor of which, Rev. J. Sherman, has won a wide Anti-Slavery reputation, and rendered important service to our cause, by his excellent introduction to an English edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and in other ways.

Mr. Kirk, like Dr. Cox, is a renegade abolitionist, and very naturally has all the animosity of the deserter and traitor toward the cause and the men he abandoned. We believe that no Northern clergyman has since been more bitter in his denunciations of Anti-Slavery measures and men, or more servile in his prostrations to the Fugitive Slave Law, the rigid execution of which he publicly enjoins as a Christian duty. No American clergyman deserves a more direct and severe rebuke from the Christians of Great Britain. They owe it as a solemn obligation to the American slaves, and the American abolitionist, to the pure and undefiled religion they profess, and to him who has said: 'Have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them,' that they deny to such clergymen the name of Christian. Such a course on the part of all the churches of Great Britain would deal a blow upon the slave system, from which it never could recover, and which would be invaluable to themselves and the world as a testimony to the purity and integrity of Christianity.

Without exception, the question should be put to American clergymen seeking the fellowship of British pulpits, (if they are not publicly known as abolitionists,) 'What have you done at home to abolish slavery, or to purify the church from its unholy connection with that sin?' Facts should be required as an answer, not vague and empty professions. Such a test would rarely fail of showing who were on the side of the slave, and who were striking hands with his oppressors.

From the Syracuse League.

JERRY RESCUE—LETTER FROM HON. J. R. GIDDINGS.

JEFFERSON, (Ohio,) Sept. 22, 1853.

MY DEAR SIR:—I thank you for the invitation to attend the Anniversary at Syracuse. All honor and gratitude to the brave hearts and strong hands that saved Jerry from the fetters and the scourge of Southern Heathenism, who dared to maintain the rights of humanity, the Constitution of our country, and the laws of God, against those bloodhounds in human shape, who would have consigned him to torture and premature death, under Southern barbarity! That infamous act of Congress, called the Fugitive Slave Law, should be evaded, repudiated, trampled upon, resisted by every Patriot and every Christian. The pretence, that slave-holders and dough-faces in Congress have power under the Constitution to convert Northern freemen into Slave Catchers, and to involve us in the expense, the guilt and disgrace of seizing and sending our fellow-men back to degrading servitude, is an insult to the dignity and common sense of the American People. I have ever regarded this enactment as the most flagrant violation of the Constitution, of God's law and man's inalienable rights; and have uniformly advised fugitives to arm themselves, and to shoot down those who should attempt to rob them of their God-given right to freedom. That crime is far more aggravated than common murder, and it is ridiculous to say that he who commits it can be protected in the day of final retribution, by that miserable act of Congress which is a libel on all that is called 'Law.'

I would rather see every Marshal, Deputy Marshal and Assistant, who attempts to commit the crime which that Law professes to authorize, slain and thrown into the same grave with bloodhounds, than to witness the outrage committed at Wilkesbarre, Pa., a few days since.

I repeat, the crime of sending a fellow-being to torture and premature death under that Law is far greater than ordinary murder; and those who advise, aid, counsel or encourage its execution, bathe their souls in deeper guilt than they would to aid or counsel the commission of murder in its ordinary form. Yea, I believe many a man has gone from the gallows to final judgment, when far less guilty than all these Doctors of Divinity who have lent their influence to sustain this Fugitive Law.

Two slave-catchers have fallen—have died on Ohio soil, while committing the crimes authorized by that act of Congress. They were slain by their intended victims; but had those fugitives failed to execute justice upon their piratical pursuers, I trust others would have performed a duty so palpably just.

Let the contempt of the people, in its most concentrated form, be brought to bear upon that Law, and upon all who would execute it, or who sustain and uphold it.

With great respect, yours for humanity,

J. R. GIDDINGS.

JAMES FULLER, M. D., *Secretary of Com.*

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

SECTARIAN MENDACITY.

As Pilate and Herod forgot their enmity for each other in their common efforts to malign and crucify the Son of God, so do modern sectarians, in spite of their mutual bickerings and animosities, strike hands for the purpose of hunting down Mr. Garrison and his friends. The Cincinnati *Christian Herald* and the Cincinnati *Christian Press*—the former an organ of New School Presbyterianism, and the latter a representative of that sort of Anti-Slavery which counsels secession from Churches that admit slaveholders to communion—afford an example of this fraternization for an unholy purpose. The *Press* has, for months, been employed in misrepresenting the Old Organized Abolitionists, with a view to convince the Anti-Slavery people of the West that they are all 'infidels,' whose object is not the overthrow of Slavery, but the destruction of the Bible, the Church, and all the institutions of religion. In this work of mendacity and mischief, it counted upon the aid of the Free Soil papers of the West; but those papers have too much common sense and too much principle to lend themselves as the tools of religious bigotry and intolerance, and the Reverend defamer was left to pursue his object alone. Recently, however, the *Christian Herald* has come to its aid, in an article which, together with the *Press's* endorsement, we have copied under its appropriate head on the first page.

The *Press* appears to be quite delighted to find itself noticed by its Presbyterian neighbor, but alludes, in a tone of complaint, to the fact that other religious journals have not given it an 'encouraging word.' We, too, think it somewhat strange that such journals should not give aid and comfort to a brother engaged in so desperate a conflict. We can account for the silence of those religious papers which openly defend Slavery, only by supposing that, badly as they hate Garrison themselves, they yet feel nothing but contempt for a professed Abolitionist, who undertakes to commend himself to their favor by assailing the great pioneer of the Anti-Slavery Movement. Other religious journals, it may be, are silent from a conviction that an Anti-Slavery reputation may be won more easily, as well as more legitimately, by assailing Slavery itself, than by joining the New York *Observer*, the New York *Herald*, and the '*Satanic Press*' generally, in a crusade against Mr. Garrison and his friends. And this view of the case we respectfully commend to the consideration of the *Christian Press* itself.

The accusations brought against Jesus by the Scribes and Pharisees were not more false than those which the *Christian Herald* and the *Christian Press* bring against the men whom they assail. Mr. Garrison, for instance, is said to 'scoff at the Bible'—to 'have far more hatred to the Bible than love for the slave,' &c. Such expressions are as false in fact, as they are malignant in purpose. They constitute the favorite slang of slaveholders, slave-breeders, and their apologists and defenders, from whose vocabulary the journals above named have borrowed them. There is not in them a particle of truth. No man ever heard Mr. Garrison 'scoff at the Bible,' or give any indication of 'hatred' to it. We venture to say, on the contrary, that there are few clergymen even, who read it more constantly or with greater delight, or who make so fitting a use of it in their public addresses, as Mr. Garrison does. With the Quakers and many other believers in Christianity—some of them, indeed, among the brightest lights of the Church—he denies the doctrine of plenary inspiration, believing that it is not taught in the Scriptures themselves. His views of this question he has never expressed on the Anti-Slavery platform, though he has done so, in the exercise of his individual freedom, elsewhere. To talk of him as ever having uttered 'infidel ravings,' *anywhere*, is to speak vulgarly as well as falsely; and to accuse him of carrying under an Anti-Slavery cloak 'the drawn dagger of Atheism,' is to utter a falsehood so utterly mean as to put the Devil himself to the blush.

The *Christian Herald* knows so little of the men whom it denounces, that it describes Wendell Phillips as holding the religious views attributed to Parker and Garrison; when the truth is, that *he is a consistent Calvinist*. And he is not the only member of the Executive Committee of the American Society who holds to the same faith. The *Herald* contends, and so also does the *Christian Press*, that men cannot act with Mr. Garrison in an Anti-Slavery Society, without making themselves responsible for his religious views. If this argument is sound, then it follows that they must also endorse the Calvinism of Mr. Phillips. What nonsense! Every sensible person knows that they en-

dorse neither—that those who act together in an Anti-Slavery Society do not pretend to hold common sentiments on any other question than Slavery—and that they are responsible only for the principles and measures which the Society itself adopts. It is worthy of notice that the *Herald*, which is so ready to hold all those who act with Mr. Garrison responsible for all *his* opinions and acts, belongs to the class of papers which are ever taxing their ingenuity to show that the *Church* can take slaveholders to her bosom, without making herself in any way accountable for their sins! 'The legs of the lame are not equal.'

We may as well remind the *Christian Press* that, if it wishes to avoid for itself, and to lead others to avoid, the contamination which it dreads from contact with Theodore Parker, it must do more than repudiate the American Anti-Slavery Society and its friends; it must withdraw from and denounce the Free Soil party, of which he is a prominent member. Is it willing to be tried by its own logic!

From the Glasgow Sentinel, Sept. 10.

AMERICAN SLAVERY—PUBLIC LECTURE.

On Tuesday evening, Mr. James Miller McKim, of Philadelphia, Secretary to the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, delivered an address on the history, present state, and prospects of the emancipation cause in America, in the Trades' Hall—J. P. Nichol, Esq., LL.D., occupied the chair. On and around the platform we noticed the Rev. Dr. Graham, Rev. Mr. Crosskey, and Dr. Young; Messrs. John Knox, John B. Ross, J. G. Crawford, Robert Kaye, Wm. Smeal, Andrew Paton, R. Kirkwood, A. Inglis, and E. Anderson. The hall was filled with a highly respectable audience of both sexes.

Professor Nichol, after thanking the meeting for having called him to the chair, briefly introduced Mr. McKim. He said that Mr. McKim had been one of the most tried friends of the Negro—that he had taken part in founding the American Anti-Slavery Society, twenty years ago, had fought in all its battles, and would, as all must hope, participate in its coming triumph. Mr. McKim had communicated to a meeting of private friends, some evenings ago, so much that was interesting relative to the present condition of affairs in America, that it was thought expedient to ask him to address a larger audience. He was sure that his fellow-citizens would thank him for this course—that they would hear with no ordinary pleasure cheering accounts of the probable and speedy removal of that foul blot on the escutcheon of the Anglo-Saxon race. Not only did the question involve the freedom of three million of slaves; depending upon the issue was also the emancipation of the white race. Until the internal troubles connected with it were removed, the great Republic of the West could never realise the destiny before it; it would never do justice to the principles at the root of its own civilization, nor would be able to accept its just, its influential, its eminent place amid the brotherhood of modern nations. Mr. McKim had also spoken much, and Professor Nichol hoped he would tell us again to-night, of another matter which must be of especial interest in Glasgow—of the condition of the American Anti-Slavery Society, of its progress and present efficiency, and of the triumph of its organization over those internal dissensions which so great a movement could not well escape, and through which it had been conducted, by virtue of its adherence to the broad catholic principle on which it was founded—by the stedfastness of its trust alone in the universal sentiments, the universal conscience, and the universal reason of mankind. Dr. Nichol did not marvel at this success. He had every confidence, in the first place, in enterprises undertaken in so catholic a trust; it was an appeal, virtually, to the good and the brave of all sects and kindreds—an appeal never yet made in vain. He would express, too, his supreme confidence in the men who had formed the executive of that Society. Not that minute criticism might not be hazarded, or exception taken to special details of their policy, but it was impossible to call in question their ability, disinterestedness, and entire singleness of aim. He knew many of these men personally—some of them intimately; and he would say, that as no cause ever needed in its service more of integrity, gallantry, and that loftiest courage—a courage of which patience is an inseparable element—the power to persevere to the end—so there was none he had ever known—it would be difficult to find one in history—which, under the Providence of God, had enlisted workmen more worthy of their task. After some other observations, Dr. Nichol called on Mr. McKim to address the meeting.

[Mr. McKim proceeded to address the assembly at considerable length, and with great clearness and ability. In the course of his speech, he said]—*Ed. Lib.*

Speaking of the fall of slavery, and the connection of the church and clergy with the subject, reminded him, that when in this country people had occasion to speak on the matter, their so doing gave rise to a good deal of odium. They were charged with being enemies to the Church of Christ, and hostile to the Christian ministry. He alluded to that charge, because it was now brought against the present abolitionists; but he would say, that the charge of infidelity had lost much of its force with all genuine Abolitionists. This was also made a ground of objection to coöperate with the American Anti-Slavery Society. Now, he believed that if ever slavery was to be abolished in the States, it would never be by any particular class. He referred to Pennsylvania, which was no longer a slave State. Seventy years ago, slavery was abolished, under the conjoint influence and action of the leading men of all classes, orthodox and heterodox, Quakers and Baptists, Methodists and Catholics. He next gave an account of the prospects of the cause of the Abolitionists in the United States. It was never in a better condition, and their hearts rejoiced in its prospects. The time was come, perhaps was not far distant, when slavery will be a thing that was, in the States. To be sure, the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law looked somewhat inauspicious; but nevertheless, though to some discouraging, it had not that effect on the Abolitionists: it has only imparted to them more strength, and it had had the effect of bringing over to their side many who before stood aloof. The law, though meant for evil, has been overruled for good, for it had brought far more Abolitionists than recovered fugitive slaves, and even as a law, he was happy to say that they regarded it as a dead letter. The first year after its enactment, strong efforts were made to put it in force. The army and the navy, the police, and every means were tried to enforce it; but so obnoxious was it to public sentiment, that in no case was it executed without a strong tendency to riot. The State of Pennsylvania was the principal theatre for the execution of this law; yet even there, he did not believe six persons would be found for love or money to engage in an effort to capture a fugitive slave; and, with the exception of three persons, none in Philadelphia would voluntarily, or for money, engage in the vile business.

The presence of Mr. Garrison at the Hale dinner at Boston, where he was an acceptable speaker among hundreds who differed from him in opinion, and who had previously occupied a hostile attitude towards him, had been proclaimed to the South as a sign that the anti-slavery agitation was to be renewed with more violence than ever. Mr. Garrison's appearance as an invited guest at the Cincinnati Convention—a convention made up in part of people differing essentially from Mr. Garrison in religious and political opinion, but welcoming Mr. Garrison in the heartiest way for his fidelity to the cause, was another fact of the same kind. The time had been when Mr. G. was denounced, by some now welcoming him, as an infidel. That time had passed in America with all true Abolitionists. Mr. Garrison had lived down that calumny. Mr. M'Kim regretted that in this country the cry was still raised. A charge more destitute of true foundation could not be uttered. It originated in slander; and though some honest people might be imposed upon, it was kept in circulation by bigotry. Mr. M'Kim conceded all that could be alleged as a foundation for the charge—he admitted Mr. Garrison's heretical views on the subject of Scriptural inspiration, but averred, in the face of it all, that Mr. Garrison was not an infidel, but one of the most reverent believers, in the true sense of the word, that he had ever known. He had been intimately acquainted with Mr. Garrison for twenty years, and knew that he was a man who emphatically walked with God. God seemed to be in all his thoughts. In private conversation, and in public discussion, he habitually spoke of men and things in their relation to God. It was this feature in his character that gave him his great influence among Abolitionists. He always addressed himself to the conscience and religious sentiment, and made man feel slavery an offence before God. Mr. M'Kim gave as his reason for thus justifying Mr. Garrison from slander, that many attacked the cause by libelling its great leader. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) It was for the sake of the great cause that he spake. In further illustration of the unsectarian character of the American Anti-Slavery Society, Mr. M'Kim stated that he was present at its formation in 1833; Mr. Garrison only drew up the resolutions, and they were endorsed by Presbyterians, Quakers, Wesleyans, Unitarians, and men of every sect. He had never been at any meeting where he felt the presence of God more thoroughly than at that one—and all present felt the same with respect to it. He further stated that slavery in Pennsylvania had only yielded to the united action of all parties—that Benjamin Franktin (a man not sound in the faith) co-operated in the same cause with Granville Sharp, and Dr. Price, who was the friend of Dr. Priestley, and concluded a most honest defence of the Society from the charges bigotry brought against it, by declaring that the platform of a cause of humanity should be broad as humanity itself. The speaker continued to show most successfully that the American Anti-Slavery Society was worthy the confidence of sincere Abolitionists of all sects and parties, and remarked on the importance of not exalting any branch of the movement, (such, for example, as that undertaken by the vigilance committees,) however useful to the importance of the movement itself.

Mr. M'Kim was loudly cheered on resuming his seat. The only matter of regret to the audience was, that he was evidently suffering under considerable physical weakness. Being obliged, in consequence, to pause for a few minutes, and

The Rev. Henry W. Crosskey being called upon by the Chairman, remarked on the gratification it was to sincere Abolitionists to learn that the charges brought by bigotry against the great leaders of the movement were dying out in America. For themselves, they were too brave to care for libel, but it must have grieved the hearts of those great men to know that the chains of the slaves were rivetted through want of union among their friends. Now, this evil was, he was glad to learn, passing away, and the time approaching, when sectarian jealousies would not prevent union against giant iniquities.

The Rev. Mr. Graham, in a few remarks, proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. M'Kim, which was heartily responded to.

Professor Nichol said that he had great pleasure in conveying the thanks of the meeting to Mr. M'Kim for his very interesting address. It was all most interesting—the latter part of it certainly not less than what preceded it. Two things, he hoped, would go forth as explaining their position regarding these charges and discussions. In the first place, that the Anti-Slavery Society had never employed its organization or its means in furtherance of any object, save one—that great object for which it is strictly constituted; and secondly, that in furtherance of this object there is literally no other effective organization existing. When men in future times look back in search of the agency which stood stern and unflinching during the crisis through which America has just been passing, the eye will rest on that society alone. That being the case, said Professor Nichol, I do trust that no one will think it needful to be scared by the fact, that in other regions of speculation, and other lines of human duties, many of the men who have done best service in this great work, choose to take counsel of their own sense of right, instead of from ours. I trust it will not be held by any tender conscience, as sufficient ground of offence, that there is asked for William Lloyd Garrison that privilege which the weakest of us here assembled at least ought to claim—the privilege, in presence of his God, to use the reason with which he is gifted in thinking freely concerning aught that can affect our human destiny, and, when so it shall seem to him meet, to declare, without let or hindrance, the entire results of that thought.

Mr. Smeal having proposed a vote of thanks to the chair, the meeting broke up.

TEMPERANCE AND ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.

As an illustration of the difference between cant and true religious feeling, hypocritical pretension to sanctity and a genuine appreciation of the essentials of Christianity, we may point to the lecture of Mr. McKim, reported in our columns of to-day, as contrasted with the performance of Mr. Gough last week. The opinion we expressed of the latter speaker in our last is fully borne out by the report of his lecture which appeared at considerable length in the *Christian News* of Saturday, and indicates that the total abstainers, by countenancing such illiberal and sectarian orators, are laying themselves open to the same charges which have all but ruined the New Anti-Slavery Society of Glasgow. There is a time and place for everything, and honest and independent thinkers, though believing temperance to be a good thing, will not, therefore, be compelled to swallow with the pledge such nauseous doses of sectarian rubbish as was administered by J. B. Gough and others who follow in the same track, but will rather hold aloof from a movement that patronises charlatans and sanctimonious pretenders, while it turns the cold shoulder on liberal-minded and reflective men.

Mr. McKim's exposition of the Anti-Slavery movement in America, with his able and triumphant vindication of William Lloyd Garrison, will be read with pleasure as a healthy manifestation of feeling on an important question, attempted to be seriously crippled by the Ronald Wrights and other such like little-minded denizens of our city.—*Glasgow Sentinel, Sept.* 10.

From the Leeds Mercury of Sept. 10.

MRS. BEECHER STOWE IN LEEDS.

The visit of Mrs. Stowe to this town will not be forgotten by those who had the privilege of seeing her. It is only to be regretted that, owing to the circumstances attending her then approaching departure from England, the number who had the opportunity of meeting her was necessarily so small. The proceedings at the presentation of the Address of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Association, and of the Testimonial from the readers of Uncle Tom's Cabin, were full of interest; and being reported in our columns, many will be able to peruse them who were prevented from personally testifying their regard for Mrs. Stowe and their sympathy with the slave. The town was well represented by its excellent Chief Magistrate, its Honorable Member, Sir Geo. Goodman, the officers of the Anti-Slavery Association, and the collectors and chief contributors of the Stowe testimonial. The sentiments expressed by those who spoke must have been highly consolatory and encouraging to the lady who has so identified herself with the cause of slave emancipation. Deeper feeling and warmer sympathy could hardly be exhibited. We hope the assurances given to Mrs. Stowe in the Address and in the speeches will be fully borne out by future activity.

The Reply of Mrs. Stowe to the Address was in the highest degree eloquent and touching. It may be regarded as her valedictory address to England. She has evidently received the utmost gratification from her visit to this country. Its scenery and its homes, its institutions and its hearts, have given deep pleasure to her susceptible mind. As an American, she cherishes a filial feeling toward the parent-land; and as a Christian philanthropist, she has rejoiced in the healthy tone of public sentiment which she has found prevailing in English society, in regard to the greatest questions that interest mankind. Her assurance that the sympathy of England is calculated to aid in the emancipation of the slave must be regarded as very important. There have been symptoms which may have led some to doubt the practical utility of any manifestation of that sympathy. But Mrs. Stowe has well said:—

'Of the sympathy which has been shown here in this country with the generous cause of freedom, I cannot think without emotion. Every friend of the cause in America has felt it. It has often been said that the expression of England's feeling does more harm than good. It will be time enough to think of this, when the objection comes from the friends of the cause in America. So long as it is urged loudest and with most force by those who are giving their whole influence in support of slavery, it is not very alarming. The friends of the cause in America *know when they are helped*, and they know that the public sentiment of England does help them.'

Our firm belief is that the earnest, kindly, yet frank and outspoken expression of English feeling, disinterested as it necessarily is, and dictated by Christian principle and humanity, must have a powerful effect in encouraging the friends of freedom in America, and in shaming and convincing the partizans of slavery. And if so, the multiplication of Anti-Slavery Societies in England becomes extremely desirable. So long as the conflict lasts in America, so long it will be the duty of the whole Christian world to display its interest in the issue; and there never yet was a gross injustice committed in a free and Christian land, that could bear to be held up continuously to the indignation of mankind. It is just a question of time. It is a question how many Uncle Toms shall perish—and the death of another, brutally murdered by his owner, was recorded last week—before the crime of slavery is abolished. Let no man, by his indifference, be chargeable with any portion of the guilt of such tragedies.

Although, in most of the slave States, the obstacles at present seem almost insuperable, there are States where there is more hope. For example, in Kentucky, there is a powerful and energetic Anti-Slavery party, which, though now a minority, may at some time become a majority in the legislature. Kentucky borders on Ohio, a free State, where the anti-slavery feeling is strong. It may be that the contagion of freedom may spread; and if one of the slave States should of its own accord abolish Slavery, the example will be very likely to be followed. In Virginia, too, though a breeding State, the party of freedom is considerable. It will be remembered that changes of opinion have sometimes taken place in the United States with marvellous rapidity. There is, therefore, no reason for despondency in regard to the ultimate success of emancipation. Let the friends of the negro do their duty; and it is impossible that they should not ultimately prevail.

The slaveholders seem determined to keep up the excitement in the free States, by the use they are making of the Fugitive Slave Law. In Cincinnati, the other day, a man who had for four years been living in Ohio as a free man, and had there conducted himself unexceptionably, was condemned by the Supreme Court of the Union to be taken back into slavery, and was accordingly carried off by his former master into Kentucky! Such events, outraging the feelings of humanity, and insulting the dignity of free States, must act like a perpetual blister on the public sentiment, and hasten the day when Slavery itself will appear a monster too hateful to be endured.

Mrs. Stowe goes back to use the high gifts with which she is endowed, and the large acquaintance she has gained with the law and practice of Slavery, in renewing the war of humanity. May her life and vigor be spared for many years! And may her example stimulate both sexes in America, and even in England, to emulate each other in the honorable work of hastening the downfall of slavery throughout the world!

MRS. H. BEECHER STOWE.

This lady stayed in Leeds from Friday evening to Tuesday morning, and then left for Liverpool. On Saturday, she visited Kirkstall Abbey, and on Monday, Fountain's Abbey, both of which ruins she admired exceedingly, and said the latter was the most beautiful ruin she had seen in Europe, unless she excepted the castle of Heidelberg. Melrose Abbey, she remarked, was superior in some of the details, but on the whole, both in magnitude and in general beauty of architecture, Fountain's Abbey was superior. We may add, that in visiting Studley and Fountain's, Mrs. Stowe received from Captain Smith, under whose superintendence the grounds are placed, all the attention paid to the most distinguished visitors; and that, her name being seen in the visitor's book, a great number of the company in the grounds waited for her departure, and took their leave of her with every mark of respect. The same interest in the authoress of '*Uncle Tom*' was manifested in Ripon, and at the railroad station, where there were considerable gatherings of persons to see and greet her. Mrs. Stowe left Leeds for Liverpool at half past nine on Tuesday morning; and though pains had been taken, in compliance with her own wish, to prevent publicity, there were many persons collected at the railway station, nearly all of whom came and asked permission to shake hands with her, which she granted with the smiling frankness and kindness which characterize her.—*Leeds Mercury.*

From the Liverpool Times.

MRS. STOWE'S DEPARTURE FOR AMERICA.

Yesterday morning, this gifted lady took her departure from our shores in the United States mail steamer Arctic. Mrs. Stowe arrived in Liverpool on Tuesday at noon, accompanied by her brother, the Rev. Charles Beecher, and, as on her former visit to this town, at once proceeded to the residence of John Cropper, Esq., at Dingle-bank. In the afternoon, Mrs. Stowe and party were the guests of his Worship the Mayor, who took them over the public buildings and various places of interest in the town. Yesterday morning, a select party breakfasted with Mrs. Stowe at Mr. Cropper's, amongst them his Worship the Mayor and the Rev. Dr. Raffles. His Worship afterwards conveyed Mrs. Stowe in his state carriage to the landing-stage, where she embarked on board the Arctic's tender. The scene at the landing-stage was a very animated one, and must have been highly gratifying to the authoress of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' Hundreds of ladies and gentlemen had assembled, anxious to do honor to and obtain a glimpse of Mrs. Stowe. There was so large a number of passengers (upwards of 200) going by the Arctic, that two steamers, instead of one, as usual, were alongside the stage for the conveyance of the passengers and luggage. Mrs. S. was on board the inside boat, and thus those on the stage had an excellent opportunity of seeing her and bidding their adieu. Besides her host and hostess, Mrs. Stowe was accompanied on board the steamer by the Rev. Dr. Raffles, Mr. Howson, Principal of the Collegiate Institution, and others. The tender left the landing-stage at ten o'clock; and on their departure the gentlemen took off their hats and cheered, and the ladies waved their parasols and handkerchiefs, Mrs. Stowe gracefully acknowledging the compliments. The authoress has evidently benefited by her trip to Switzerland, for she looks very much better than on her first arrival in this country.—His Worship, Samuel Holmes, Esq., had invited Mrs. Stowe to breakfast at the Town Hall, on Wednesday morning, and invitations were prepared for a number of the Mayor's friends to meet her on that occasion, but the following letter explains the reason why the invitation was not complied with:—

Dear Sir:—I am fully sensible of the honor and kindness done me by your very friendly and flattering proposal for the morning of my departure. Nothing could be more grateful to my feelings than such a mark of kind remembrance and regard, and of sympathy with the great cause which so deeply interests me. But, upon consultation with friends, I find that the indsipensable engagements preliminary to sailing will render it impossible to accept the invitation. But, while obliged to decline, allow me to express my grateful sense of the kindness intended.

Very truly yours, H. B. STOWE.
To the Mayor of Liverpool.

BUST OF MRS. STOWE.

At the soiree given to Mrs. H. B. Stowe by the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in May, there was exhibited a very beautifully executed bust of the authoress of Uncle Tom's Cabin, modelled by N. N. Burnard, Esq., which was greatly admired by all present, both for its fidelity as a likeness, and for the artistic skill with which the work was executed. It has been thought that a graceful tribute of respect to Mrs. Stowe would be paid, and at the same time, a pleasing and permanent memorial of her visit to this country be secured, if the artist were commissioned to execute the bust in marble, to be placed, with a suitable inscription, in the Crystal Palace, now erecting at Sydenham. The Crystal Palace will be frequented by countless visitors from all nations, who will see, in this likeness of Mrs. Stowe, an expression of the admiration felt by Englishmen for the courage and true patriotism displayed by this gifted woman, in pleading so powerfully the cause of the injured and oppressed slave. The proposal has met with the cordial approval and support of several distinguished friends of the anti-slavery cause, and an appeal is now being made for co-operation in raising the sum required to carry out this object. Among the subscribers whose names are already published are the Duchesses of Sutherland, Argyle, and Bedford, Viscountess Palmerston, the Earls of Carlisle, Shaftesbury and Grosvenor, and Sir E. N. Buxton, Bart. The amounts range from £1 up to £5. We observe that the hon. secretary is Edmund Fry, Esq., 35 Broad street buildings, London. In addition to warm testimonials to the excellence of this likeness from Professor Stowe and the Rev. Chas. Beecher, there is one from the authoress herself, which is characteristic. It is as follows:—

'Mr. Burnard:—I am sure I am greatly obliged to you for your good offices in giving my friends in Old England more consolatory impressions of my personal appearance than the shop windows have hitherto afforded.

Wishing you all success,
I am truly your friend,
H. B. STOWE.'

From the Vermont Freeman.

DISGRACEFUL.

Mr. Wm. T. Pindell, of Boston, a colored man, has communicated to the *Commonwealth* the particulars of the expulsion of his son from one of the public schools in Boston. It appears the child is an intelligent, well disposed little boy of five years of age, and so white that the trustees did not discover that he belonged to the proscribed race when they brought him into the school. But the keen scent of the teacher, Miss Sarah A. Turner, nosed the fact out, and applied to the trustees to have him removed, without a word of complaint from any source whatever; which object she effected by the force of 'the laws of the State,' and against the will and wish of the Superintendent. The little boy was making fine progress in his studies; but all to no purpose. He must be immolated on the altar of prejudice, to satisfy the caprice of Miss Sarah A. Turner. May Heaven *turn her* into a decent woman, if the task is not beyond its power.

Through the columns of the *Commonwealth*, the father of the little boy thus gives vent to his honest indignation at the wanton insult:

'The whole proceeding is another, in the long train of outrage, insult, and injustice, heaped upon the heart of innocent childhood struggling for manly elevation.

'If citizens of Boston are to suffer such indignities, and those who perpetrate them are to be sustained by the authorities and tolerated by the community, what interest am I to have in my country but to curse it, and teach my boy to curse it, and with all the parties who thus put their foot on his neck to crush out his aspirations for manhood.

'As our laws, government and courts are now constituted, there is no redress for such indignities, but to invoke public scorn upon such petty tyranny and upon its perpetrators. Let the public judge of the heart of a woman who could commit such an outrage on a beautiful and intelligent boy of five years, as well dressed, as cleanly, as any other child in the city, and scarce a shade darker than one half of the children in the school, and but half a shade darker than the teacher who has done it.'

This affair deserves one word more of comment. One of the standing pro-slavery flash arguments for the propriety of negro slavery is, that the African race is *intellectually inferior*; and that therefore it is fit, in the relation of things, that they be brought into a state of servitude to a more gifted people. Here you have one of the processes *by which they are made thus inferior*. The bitterest prosecution that was ever waged against a race has raged against them, generation after generation, for centuries; power has sharpened every point of law—invented and used every brutalizing appliance, shut up every avenue of improvement, and crushed them under an avalanche of social indignity and legal violence, and sought, by every conceivable devilish device to cripple the moral and intellectual energies of the negro; then, forsooth, the oppressor coolly turns upon them, and taunts them with *natural inferiority!!* Such a process, had it been perpetrated upon any other tribe of the human family, as long and as mercilessly as it has been upon the negro, would to-day leave as the miserable dregs of that tribe a race so degenerate that not enough of what they once were would be left to distinguish them from the Hottentot or Orang Outang. And not unlikely, the fastidious Miss Sarah A. Turner, instead of being a prime, pink-mouthed Boston *school marm*, might have been a chattering baboon in some travelling menagerie.

We do not ask for any mutually offensive alliances between the whites and the blacks, nor the breaking down of any barriers that nature or convenience may oppose to the fusion of the two races, but, in God's name, we *do* ask for them, as we would ask for every other human being, that the yoke of *oppression* be taken off, and that the negro be allowed his natural rights, in common with the rest of the race.

THE LIBERATOR.

No Union with Slaveholders.

BOSTON, OCTOBER 7, 1853.

MR. GARRISON'S TOUR TO THE WEST.

Mr. Garrison set out on his journey to the West on Monday morning. His tour will extend farther than he has ever yet been, and will reach fields of labor which must have been almost inaccessible to any but a professional lecturer before Steam had destroyed both Time and Space, and opened new markets for Truth as well as merchandize. We are sure that there are thousands who will rejoice to see one with whose name the great Movement of this Age and Country is inseparably connected, and that the influence of his presence and his words cannot fail to be a blessing wherever he goes. The population of a new State like Michigan is composed of such diverse elements, that it must needs be that his advent will be expected with very different feelings by different classes of the population. Some few there are, we know—we wish we could hope that they were many—who have emigrated from New England after having been baptized into Anti-Slavery truth. Such must, of necessity, receive him gladly. And on such will devolve the pleasing labor of making his visit as extensively useful as can be done. We would venture to remind such friends, however, that whatever qualifications, and whatever Seal of Apostleship, Mr. Garrison may have, he has no supernatural gift of strength and health. We would have them remember that however willing the spirit may be, the flesh is weak, and not to lay out more work for him than is consistent with sufficient intervals of rest and relaxation. We venture to make this suggestion, as we have a very painful recollection of the narrow escape he had of his life from a fever contracted in the fatiguing Western service, six or seven years ago. We are sure that it will be taken in good part.

Besides these, there must be persons of Southern origin, who have been driven Northward and Westward by the necessities of the Peculiar Institution, but who, nevertheless, are infected with the taint which that *malaria* breeds in the blood of all who breathe its poison, as well those who suffer as those who thrive by it. To such, Mr. Garrison may seem to approach in the likeness of an enemy, and they may feel inclined to oppose to him a hostile attitude. And between these extremes, there must be every gradation of feeling, Anti-Slaverywise, from the best phase of Free Soilism to the most bigotted political and religious doughfaceism. To all such, he comes as one crying in the Wilderness, 'Prepare ye the way of the Lord!' He teaches the truths by which only this nation can be politically redeemed. He is the enemy of no man; but the benefactor, rightly understood, of all. The Slave he would save from his chains, the Slaveholder from his more fatal bonds of wickedness, and the North from their base and degrading accessoryship. He is the genuine friend of the Religious and Political parties, from which he differs and which he has to expose; for he is pointing out to them the way to true success, usefulness and consistency. We trust, as indeed we are sure, that great multitudes will assemble to see and hear this man who is every where spoken against. And we are confident that his preaching cannot fail to produce a deep impression on the mind of that young and most important portion of the country.

We are always glad to have Mr. Garrison go into new fields of labor. His missions of this kind have always been attended with singularly beneficial results. These are derived, in no small degree, from his private and personal intercourse with new minds, as from his public services. There is, perhaps, no name more bruited in men's minds, all over the country, than his; although the strangest ideas are often attached to it. The Slaveholders and their Northern friends having the instinctive sagacity to recognize him as the incarnation of the Anti-Slavery Movement, they have endeavored to associate with his name every hateful personal characteristic. The religious press have come to their assistance in this holy work, and added the fearful brand of Infidel to that of a promoter of insurrection, murder and conflagration, which the South had given him. At the South, he is made hateful as one desirous of destroying their bodies and estates; and at the North, as one who would strike at the life of the very soul. It is no wonder, therefore, that he should be the object of perhaps the most extensive prejudice ever entertained in this country against any man. But these prejudices vanish before the influence of his personal presence. Men look for a monster, and find only a cheerful, kindly, friendly man, considerate, reasonable, placable, of no selfish ends or personal vanities, full of a deep enthusiasm for the great truths he utters, but seeking to promote them only by fair statement and open discussion, and moved to righteous indignation only by cruelty, falsehood or meanness. The personal prejudice against Mr. Garrison scarcely ever survives the first interview with him, even with those who fail to accept his doctrine. It is eminently wise, therefore, that he should be seen, in the flesh, wherever the word is preached, inasmuch as half the prejudice connected with the Movement is personal to him, and as to the rest, there is no man in it so able to brush them away.

Having these views of the importance of his visiting other parts of the country occasionally, his friends in and about Boston are very willing to give the little assistance they can towards making it practicable, by relieving him of the charge of The Liberator. They look upon themselves as entitled to some credit for their willingness to put themselves in a post which can be fitly occupied only by him who established it, and where they cannot but appear to a disadvantage. But, on the other hand, this involves a sacrifice on the part of the readers of the paper, quite equivalent to any little trouble it may give to us. We trust, therefore, that we shall receive the kind indulgence and consideration of the readers of The Liberator during this absence of its Editor, looking upon themselves as fellow-sufferers with us in a good cause.—Q.

THE JERRY RESCUE MEETING.

This Celebration seems to have been prosperous to the very height of the hopes and wishes of its promoters. Gerrit Smith presided, and more than three thousand persons assembled to hear him and the other speakers, and none molested or made them afraid. The particulars of the meeting have not yet reached us; but will be given in due time. It is one of the few genuine anniversaries that we have in this country. It represents an Idea and a Fact. Almost all our glorifications stand for nothing,—or, at least, like the fourth of July, for a maimed and mangled Idea. We hope it will grow into a custom, and yet become the great Feast Day of Central New York.

It seems that the Government is not yet ready to try the men who dared and did this deed. The defendants have been always ready for trial; but have been compelled to dance attendance on the Courts for *Eight* Sessions, at distant points of the State, and the District Attorney has not got his case ready yet! This is Speedy Justice, with a vengeance! Such a perversion of the tribunals of Justice, as they call themselves, to the indirect punishment of persons obnoxious to the Government, whom it does not hope to convict, (for this can be the only explanation of the fact,) is a thing unknown in England, or in any country making any pretensions to Free government. Had we an American Dickens, this might afford a text for a new Bleak House, quite as suggestive as the Court of Chancery itself. But, *le bon temps viendra!* Better times will come.—Q.

Justice at Last. The Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church for the State of New York, which has lately been holding its sessions in the city of New York, decided, by a very large majority, to admit the delegates from St. Philip's Church (New York city) to seats in the Convention. St. Philip's Church is a highly respectable congregation of colored people, regularly organized, and in full and regular connection with the Prot. Episcopal Church in that Diocese. For the past seven years, the application of this Church to be represented in the Annual Convention has been steadily and flatly refused. Every year they have sent their delegates, and every year they have been repulsed. Much to the surprise, certainly of all at a distance from the spot, this year they were admitted, and apparently with very little opposition.

'Upon the recognition and admission of St. Philip's, (says the N. Y. *Tribune*,) the Clergy gave 139 Ayes to 15 Nays; and the laity 70 Ayes to 33 Nays, making a clear majority of 161 out of 257 votes.' Much of the credit of this result is due to the unwearied efforts of John Jay, Esq., who, from year to year, has brought the subject before the Convention, and advocated the rights of St. Philip's Church. We cannot either forget the honest and wholesome letter of Rev. Evan M. Johnson, of Brooklyn, L. I., a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, written a few years since, confessing and lamenting the hostile attitude of that Church to the colored people generally. That letter must have caused every Episcopal cheek to blush, unless all sense of shame were gone. It expressly declared that the influence of the Episcopal Church had been studiously and designedly used to depress the colored people of their own Church, and to discourage their own efforts for improvement. We rejoice to see this omen of better times. Mr. Jay, Mr. Johnson, and others, perhaps, in that Church, have won a great and noble victory,—which, though far from being perfected, is one to be remembered. Honor to them for their faithful perseverance! 'In due season ye shall reap, if ye faint not.' During the long-protracted struggle, Mr. Jay has been subjected to great abuse, both in the Convention and out of it, for his resolute and undaunted efforts in the cause of the proscribed and oppressed—abuse which he has borne, as he could well afford to do, with calmness and good temper. He enjoys a well-earned reward. We have heard the wish expressed, that Mr. Jay would now prepare, and publish, a full account of his efforts in this case, and of its progress from year to year. In that wish we heartily unite, and hope the work may not be long delayed.—M.

The Last Page. The reader will find, on the last page, a Correspondence between Mr. N. H. Whiting and some anonymous Correspondent. Mr. Whiting's letter bears the marks of his clear and vigorous style, and will need no recommendation of ours to induce an attentive perusal of it. His views of the French Revolution are those which must ultimately prevail, in spite of the apparent Failure which now sits Crowned and Sceptred on the heart of France. Mr. Garrison readily consented to give his entire Fourth Page to this Correspondence, in consideration of the excellence of Mr. Whiting's Letter. But he does not wish this to grow into a general precedent.—Q.

☞ Our Middlesex County readers will notice that a quarterly meeting of the County Anti-Slavery Society is to be held at Framingham on Sunday, 16th inst. We trust that as many of them as possible, and especially those living within convenient reach of the meeting, will be present. By so doing, they can *do* good, as well as get good. An interesting and effective meeting is hoped for.

The Popular Educator. The September number of the *Popular Educator* has been received from F. Parker, Publisher in Boston. It is a work which may well receive the popular patronage, for it affords much information in every branch of knowledge, and is one of the best things of the kind ever published.

☞ Rev. A. T. Foss will speak before the Free Church in Worcester, at Horticultural Hall, on Sunday next, Oct. 9, morning and evening.

OHIO WOMAN'S STATE TEMPERANCE CONVENTION.

SEVERE REBUKE OF GEN. CARY.

Richmond, Ind., Sept. 25, 1853.

Dear Friend Garrison:

Your columns are so crowded, that I never write you but with reluctance. (1) A Woman's State Temperance Convention, however, just held in Dayton, Ohio, and which I attended, the proceedings of which should be widely known, must be my apology to-day.

Dayton is the last place to entertain any thing radical or reformatory. It is a handsome and flourishing little city, and is situated in the midst of some of the most fertile and beautiful soil on the globe. But, sad to tell, this soil, to a great extent, is consecrated to the growth of tobacco, and the culture of corn for the miserable Western whiskey!

Dayton is very largely engaged in the sale of these two curses of mankind. Consequently, any thing progressive or reformatory is proscribed, as it must inevitably interfere with business and profits. There is, however, a Temperance Society in the place, though it proscribes *colored* membership wholly. Either the colored people are not drunkards, or else they are to remain so, for the Temperance Society forbids their approach to it. Then that same Society refused to be represented in the Woman's State Society meeting. One of its members, however, did appear, *undelegated*, and in rather pompous tone, said the reason was, that 'the State Society was understood to be in favor of women's equality on the Temperance platform.' What a pity that God should have made these women and colored people thus to plague us!

But the Women's Convention was worthy of the cause and of the age. There was, on the part of a few members from Oberlin, Cincinnati, and elsewhere, a dread of radicalism; and, among some, a disposition to gloss over, if not to endorse, the reverend ruffianism and rowdyism of the late *Hemispherical* Convention in New York. It manifested itself on the presentation of the following Resolutions, by Mrs. Josephine Griffing. They relate, as will be seen, to the action of the New York Convention with respect to *woman*, and the part Gen. Cary, of this State, bore in her violent and villainous rejection and expulsion.

Resolved, That we regard the cowardly and tyrannical '*conformation to the usages of society*,' in thrusting woman from the late [so-called, but miscalled] World's Temperance Convention, as a most daring and insulting outrage upon all of womankind; and it is with the deepest shame and mortification that we learn that our own State of Ohio furnished the delegate to officiate in writing and presenting the Resolutions, and presiding at the session when the desperate act was accomplished.

Resolved, That our thanks are due to the Hon. Neal Dow, of Maine, President of the Convention, for so manfully and prosistently deciding and insisting upon and *in favor* of the equal right of all the friends of Temperance, duly delegated, to seats and participancy in all its proceedings.

Other important and strong Resolutions had been offered, but these waked the Convention in every department. An elderly woman from Cincinnati, with great earnestness, protested against the presentation of such Resolutions. She said, 'No woman of decent propriety would have disgraced herself by thrusting herself upon that platform, where she did not belong and was not wanted.' A few others spoke on the same side, though not with the same earnestness. They all seemed to fear, (and the Cincinnati woman so said,) that these Resolutions would introduce all the disgraceful scenes of the New York Convention.

But such fears were groundless. Neither Rev. Dr. Marsh, Dr. Hewitt, nor Dr. Rynders were there, nor any of their minions. The Resolutions underwent a spirited discussion, and were then both adopted; the first by a very large majority, and the second, with but a single dissenting voice. Both votes were taken by rising. Both sides were evidently disappointed. The minority insisted that the question was not understood. So the President, contrary to all precedent, had the Resolutions read *for the fourth time*, and voted upon again; but the result was as before; and a general burst of applause, from all parts of the house, in which both men and women joined, ratified and confirmed the righteous decision.

Thus did the first State Temperance Society of women held since the New York outrages, brand them and their perpetrators as they deserve. How appropriate, and even providential, that Gen. Cary should thus be first rebuked in his own State!

The propriety of the adoption of the Resolutions appeared more and more strongly in the discussion. One woman, a devoted friend and partizan of Gen Cary, denied that woman, as such, was driven from the platform at all. She said the General declared, only last evening, at a large meeting in Urbanna, that the women were rejected *on account of the illegality of their credentials*. She was asked if she was sure he so declared. She was still positive; and then called on one or two men sitting near to confirm her statement. They affirmed the same. One man present doubted, and thought he made a distinction between the women and Wendell Phillips. I think, however, the general opinion was that the lady was right. No wonder the actors in scenes so shameless begin to deny them.

In the evening meeting, a member of the Convention moved a reconsideration of Mrs. Griffing's Resolutions, in order to offer a substitute. It appeared, however, that she voted in the negative, and so could not make the motion. Then the President, in violation of all propriety, as well as Parliamentary rule, proposed that some one who voted for the Resolutions should, as a matter of courtesy, move their reconsideration. It was done, and the vote taken; but the result showed that the meeting generally was not to be so trifled with. Not half a dozen voted to reconsider. Then the Oberlin women, and a few others, asked leave to record, in the proceedings, that though 'they regard as uncourteous, unparliamentary and unchristian, the far-famed proceedings at New York, yet we cannot endorse the language of the censure as administered by our much-loved and valued sisters.'

If Gen. Cary and his confederates can extract much comfort, even from this protest of the best friends they have in Ohio, let them enjoy it.

Excuse so long a letter—I hadn't time to make it shorter.

Truly and devotedly yours,
PARKER PILLSBURY.

(1) Our friend Pillsbury cannot write too often. His letters are always read with deep interest.—[*Ed. Lib.*]

☞ The Boston *Chronicle*, the organ of the liquor trade in this city, advises the opponents of the Maine Law to withhold their votes from the Whig, Democratic and Free Soil parties, and to bestow them upon the *National Democrats*, who are 'pledged to oppose the liquor law, and to do all in their power to secure its repeal.' And it published, on Tuesday, a communication from one of these National Democrats, (whose number is insignificant,) inviting the support of the enemies of the Maine law. A precious and significant union! The Fugitive Slave Law and the unrestrained traffic in Rum hand in hand, as they should be; and marching to the polls together to uphold the *liberties* of the country!

Review of Parker's Sermon on Webster. The *Evening Gazette* says Messrs. James Munroe & Co. will shortly publish a review of Mr. Parker's masterly discourse on the life and character of the 'Great Apostate,' from the pen of 'Junius Americanus.' The *Gazette* thinks the review will create a decided sensation.

☞ Letters and communications for the subscriber should be sent to him at 21 Cornhill, Boston.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr.

☞ The Rev. Edward N. Kirk, of Boston, is at present in England, where he has been passing himself off as a consistent and uncompromising friend of the slave! Several years ago, he professed to be an abolitionist, and spoke from the platform of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and 'ran well for a time.' But it proved to be only a sentimental spasm. Soon afterward, he came to Boston, and ignored all connection with the anti-slavery movement. Where he stands, in feeling and sentiment, on the great question of the age, the following extracts from his Sermon on the death of Daniel Webster strongly testify. We hope they will be quoted on the other side of the Atlantic, that the friends of the slave in England, who have given Mr. Kirk their confidence as an abolitionist, may see how shamefully they have been imposed upon. The following communication was received some time ago, but is none the less pertinent at the present time—the writer having left his name with us, to authenticate his statements.

CLERICAL APOSTACY AND PROFLIGACY.

E. N. Kirk, pastor of the Mount Vernon Church, in Boston, has preached a sermon on the death of Daniel Webster, which has been published at the request of the young men of the Mount Vernon Association. It goes further in eulogy of Mr. Webster than any thing I have seen from any other source. And when it is remembered, that Mr. Kirk was an anti-slavery lecturer some years since, at the time of his residence in Albany, it is quite remarkable that he should now enter the lists with the Deweys and the Choates in commending Daniel Webster to young men as a model worthy their imitation. His text is a passage in the 45th chapter of Isaiah: 'I am the Lord, and there is none else. I form the light, and create darkness.' On this he says:—

1. *The American people should gratefully acknowledge Daniel Webster as a gift from God.* (!!!)

That his endowments were eminent, the civilized world admits. They were qualities of the very highest order, and of an extraordinary combination. I am sustained by competent authority in saying, that he excelled his fellows in two departments, at least; in only one of which do the greatest often excel. Edmund Burke was an eloquent expounder of political principles; Henry Brougham is a great jurist; but Daniel Webster walked in the loftiest paths, both of legal and political science: nay, was a ruling spirit in the upper spheres of law and politics. Webster had not only sagacity and judgment, but he also brought to the whole subject of man's social life, of the organization of States, and the complicated, profound and vast principles which they involve, a vision of extraordinary clearness and comprehensiveness, an uncommon soundness of judgment, a true heart. . . . Mr. Webster's judgment was solid and practical. He was a philosopher, not dealing in questions remote from real life, but searching the principles of human society and human rights and duties, *law, justice* and *liberty*, to their very foundations. . . . . He was a great light in our heavens. But the Lord formed him, formed him what he was, (!!) and trained him by his own wonderful processes. . . . . The services Mr. Webster has rendered to this country, and to mankind, must be acknowledged to be *priceless*. This is not the place to give them their full prominence. But it is appropriate to this place to say so much as shall awaken in our hearts a deep sense of indebtedness to our heavenly Father for the bestowment of this gift. . . . But it is preeminently as a statesman that he has earned a debt of gratitude too vast for us ever to repay. We know not the pilot who could have marked the course for *Freedom's barque*, had he not done it. (!) . . . God, who raised up Solomon for Israel, *raised up our Daniel for the United States.* (!!!) He has mapped the chart for us, and left the simpler task of steering to honest and wakeful helmsmen. We may remain *E Pluribus Unum* now, if we know the worth of that motto. . . . . *God bless his fragrant memory! God be praised for him and his work!* It was great, it was noble, among the greatest, the noblest of political achievements.

2. *The people of America are called to recognize the hand of God in the removal of our Chieftain.*

'I the Lord create darkness.' And it is dark, very dark. We feel it. We look with fear on your little ambitious statesmen, that are advertising themselves for the great posts of power; we feel a sickness at heart when we think of the silence that reigns at Marshfield. (!!) We look ahead; and it is dark, very dark. Fishery-questions, boundary-questions, frontier difficulties, nullification? who is to meet them? Who is to negotiate for us? who is to breast the waves, and scatter them in spray? The rock of Marshfield is removed!

Yes; but God did it. Since Washington left us, we have never been so tempted to lean on the arm of flesh, as in this case. And God, in mercy, has broken the snare. (!!) Webster still lives; but we can no longer pray to him, (!!) instead of the God of heaven, if we have heretofore done so. . . .

The interest awakened in our country by this death is invaluable. The suspension of business, the vast attendance at the funeral, the public meetings, the great space of the newspapers occupied by it, *is all good.* (!!) *The tears shed since last Sunday* have watered the *roots of precious plants.* (!!!) . . . . While Mr. Webster lived, we hardly knew how much we felt alike about him. Now, there is one common sigh swelling the heart of America. . . . His *genuine patriotism* will now be more fully estimated by us, and more impressive as an example. Envy and detraction will be silent. His *whole career* will manifest the purity and strength of his patriotism. (!!!) He was never a tactician; he never stooped to be the people's man; he was no proclaimer of his own patriotism; not an orator with honeyed words; not a brawler about the people's rights; but an honest lover of his country, and of *all the people that are in it*; an enlightened lover, that knew where our true interests lie; that would sacrifice our favor, if that was the price of telling us the truth. He rode on no hobby for the sake of gaining him favor or votes. Principles, eternal principles; *truth and justice* ever secured his delighted attention, and occupied his thoughts. (!!) He understood the fundamental principles of our Constitution, in their relations to ourselves, and to *the great human family.* (!!) The warmest affections of his heart and the strength of his mind were devoted to the maintenance and application of those principles. It is a cheering fact, that the Duke of Wellington and Daniel Webster are the two most admired men of this age; (!!) and that both of them made the interests of their country their pole-star. The grandeur of true patriotism, as illustrated in his course, will now be brought before the eyes of our young men; and they will see it in glorious contrast with the petty self-seeking that so frequently disgraces political life. . . .

Fellow-citizens, God hath done this, *to make us weep.* (!!)

The death of Mr. Webster will increase men's *respect for the Bible.* (!!) He is acknowledged to be a great man, a wise man; a scholar, a learned man; a man thoroughly acquainted with the world; that is, a man of practical sense. But it will soon be seen by the world, that *his reverence for the Bible*, founded on a most intimate study of it, *was very great.* German philosophers appear very wise; and so do some of their American imitators. Many young men regard it as a badge of superior sense to despise the Bible. The views of Mr. Webster will save many of them from that snare.

So speaks E. N. Kirk in his Sermon on the Death of Daniel Webster. As a proper commentary on this fulsome and false adulation, I will now relate a conversation I had with Mr. Kirk some six years ago. I called on him in his study, and we had a familiar talk on the subject of slavery. Mr. Kirk showed me several written lectures which he had publicly given in the State of New York against slavery. He expressed great interest in the anti-slavery cause, and, wishing to join with me in prayer before I left, he prayed very fervently for the slave. He said he once asked Amos Lawrence, an intimate friend of Mr. Webster, why the American people did not rally for freedom, under the leadership of Daniel Webster, and destroy the Slave Power. The reply was in substance as follows: 'There are three reasons why Mr. Webster can never lead the people in the path of freedom. The first is his profligate pecuniary habits. These destroy his moral power, make him dependent upon moneyed men, and exercise a ruinous influence on very many young men, who revere Daniel Webster, and make him a model in the conduct of their own life. The second reason is, his intemperate habits, which are of such a nature as unfit him for the office of a moral leader. The third is, his licentious habits, which still further impair his moral power, and render any confidence in him as a leader impossible.' If you publish this article, please send a copy of the paper containing it to Mr. Kirk, and he will then be able to correct any mistake into which I may have fallen respecting that conversation. But I am very confident I have represented it with perfect fairness. Well, then, two things are shown by this reminiscence of the past. First, it thus appears that Mr. Kirk knew what Mr. Webster's private character was; and he eulogises this profligate, intemperate and licentious man in the highest strain, and holds him up as a pattern to the young men of his congregation, when, by his own professed creed, if they follow the example held out to them, they will be irretrievably and forever ruined. It is thus also made to appear, that some remarkable distemper has attacked the moral vision of Mr. Kirk. Whether it be love of popularity, or a bitter hatred of the anti-slavery enterprise, through the overpowering influence of which he is enabled to behold in Daniel Webster a saint, since his 'Seventh of March Speech,' or what it is, I leave each reader to determine for himself.

How heartless and false the religious character of the American priesthood, as revealed in the general and idolatrous adulation by them bestowed upon the recreant and unholy Daniel Webster!

Yours, for the truth to the living and the dead, ——— ———.

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH NORTH.

Hupary Grove, Sept. 12, 1853.

Dear Friend:

I wish to ask, through your columns, whether the evidence of colored persons is received in the Methodist Episcopal Church North, or in the New School Presbyterian Church, or in the Baptist Church, when it is brought against a white person? And also, how far the Methodist Episcopal Church extends south of Mason and Dixon's line?

By answering these questions through The Liberator, you will much oblige

Yours, for truth and right,
ISAAC G. MOTT.

Answer.—As for colored testimony at the South, against white church members, we believe it is excluded in the Methodist E. Church. Of Baptist usage, in this particular, we are not informed. How far the M. E. Church North is implicated in the sin of slaveholding, *The Wesleyan*, published at Syracuse, N. Y., comprehensively says, on this point—

'What is the position of the M. E. Church North on slavery?

'In 1844, when the Southerners threatened to withdraw, the General Conference of the M. E. Church, at the suggestion of Bishop Hedding, appointed a prayer meeting to prevent, if possible, that separation. The editor was at that meeting, and heard the professed abolitionists of the North and the slaveholders of the South pray against the separation.

Again: Slaveholding and slave-selling men belong to both sections, now the Church is divided. The Northern Discipline, p. 209, contains these words, recognizing the admitted fact of slaveholding members. "All our preachers shall enforce upon *our members* the necessity of teaching *their slaves* to read the word of God." Besides, the Northern M. E. Church has now within its limits seven slaveholding States—Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas and Texas—in all, 400,000 square miles of slaveholding territory. See Discipline, pp. 161–167.

'At the General Conference of 1848, Bishop Hedding invited slaveholding ministers to unite with him in celebrating the Lord's Supper at Pittsburg. In 1852, the editor saw Bishop Janes go down from the pulpit, and invite a distinguished slaveholder into it. And in our Southern Methodist exchanges, Southern ministers are narrating often how handsomely they were treated by the Northern brethren, in all our principal cities.'

From the Pennsylvania Freeman.

GREAT ANTI-COLONIZATION MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA, AUGUST 30.

The necessity of a meeting in which might be given an earnest and general expression of the sentiments held by the colored people of Philadelphia, on the subject of African colonization, was quite apparent; and especially was it needful that a strong expression of detestation should be made against the persevering and malignant efforts of late put forth by the Colonization agents, Rev. J. M. Pease and Elliott Cresson, in the exciting discussions at Westchester and elsewhere.

That the spirit of colonization at the present time is unusually active in striving to increase the prejudices of the whites against the free colored people, and in using the utmost flattery to persuade colored people into the absurd notion that Africa alone is their 'Fatherland,' and the only place on earth where they can be free and elevated, is every where to be observed, and likewise to be rebuked by colored men.

Notices of the meeting had been published in several of the daily papers, in which it was announced that the scheme of Colonization would be considered by Robert Purvis, M. A. Shadd, and other advocates of the cause, and also, that Miss F. Watkins, of Baltimore, would recite an original anti-slavery poem.

As had been anticipated, at an early hour, a large and respectable audience assembled in Brick Wesley Church, evidently feeling that the object of the meeting was an important one. Besides the speakers referred to above, the following well-known friends of freedom were present, viz.: Mrs. Mott, C. L. Remond, Esther Moore, and B. Rush Plumly.

The meeting was organized by appointing Rev. Mr. Adams, Chairman, and Wm. Still, Secretary; after which, the Chairman arose, and stated the objects of the meeting. On taking his seat, Miss Shadd was called upon to address the audience. She glanced at the Colonization movement in this country, showing the hypocrisy and inconsistency of its advocates, as evinced by their practice, contrasted with their professions of sympathy for the colored man in this land of oppression, and for the souls of the heathen in Africa.

The speaker also gave a statement of the unfair course pursued by Cresson and Pease, when discussing the subject of colonization recently in Westchester. That the agents had not scrupled to resort to the lowest prejudices of the whites, as well as the most frivolous statements of such colored men as had been duped into their scheme to aid in carrying out their objects of colonization, was very conclusively shown.

The condition of Liberia, the geography and climate of Africa, were also dwelt upon at considerable length, by which the speaker designed to prove that, owing to the excessive heat of the climate, and other natural disadvantages, Africa was entirely unfit as a place of colonization and elevation of oppressed Americans.

At the conclusion of Miss Shadd's remarks, Miss Watkins was introduced to the audience, and recited gracefully two original anti-slavery poems; the subjects of both being highly interesting, one on the 'Bible Defence of Slavery,' and the other on 'Eliza Harris crossing the River on the Ice.' Miss W., though bred in a slaveholding city, is well cultivated, and evidently has given much reflection and attention to the wrongs of those with whom she is identified. Her poems were well received by the audience.

Mr. Purvis next rose to speak, and to introduce Mr. Remond, who was yet to address the audience. Mr. P. recounted briefly the secret workings of the colonization scheme, the prejudicial bearing it has against the colored man, wherever tolerated, or whatever form it assumes. Said he, though Africa were the Garden of Eden, in comforts, &c., he could not for a moment countenance or trust the colonization scheme, seeing that slaveholders and their apologists are among its most active supporters. Their pretended sympathy amounted to nothing more than the simple fact of their desiring to get rid of the free colored people, that they might the more securely hold the slaves in bondage.

Mr. Remond was introduced, doubtless to the great gratification of the whole audience. As many were present who had heard his eloquent voice on former occasions, an energetic and masterly speech was expected.

He spoke for about an hour, in language of powerful denunciation of the American colonization enterprise. Having been for a long while familiar with all the phases of this movement, he was well qualified to expose its real character. After Mr. R. had concluded his remarks, Mrs. Moore, Mr. Plumley and Mr. Purvis continued to entertain the audience till a very late hour.

Before the adjournment, Mr. Purvis stated that a meeting had been appointed for Mr. Remond and himself in Westchester, for the following evening, when they would again discuss this subject.

The following resolution was then offered by Mr. Purvis, and unanimously passed, as expressive of the views of the meeting against African colonization, and also as being well suited to place in the hands of Messrs. Remond and Purvis, on the ensuing evening:—

Resolved, That we reiterate the sentiments expressed thirty years ago, of determined opposition to the American Colonization Society; viewing it as a crusade against the peace, happiness, rights and liberties of the colored people of this country.

WILLIAM STILL, *Secretary.*

The Ashland Estate.—We mentioned the sale of the Ashland estate to James B. Clay, Esq.

A number of gentlemen were present at the sale, and were willing to pay over $200 per acre, but when it was known that the sons of Mr. Clay wished to have it, no bids were made except by James and Thomas Clay. It was struck off to James, and will be retained in the Clay family.

☞ The mortality at sea, on board of emigrant ships, appears to increase with every departure from Europe. Seventy-nine persons died on board the ship Winchester, arrived at New York a few days since.

☞ The following spirited and manly Notice explains itself. Our true-hearted and noble friend, always 'instant in season,' suffers no opportunity to pass by for instilling his hatred of the God-defying Fugitive Slave Act into the minds and hearts of honest men and women throughout the land.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTY OF ONTARIO.

As you are well aware, there is an Act of Congress to promote the chasing down of men, women, and chileren, for the purpose of consigning them to the pit of slavery. I call it an Act, instead of a Law. There can be no Law for Devilism.

An attempt is to be made in your County, in a few days, to convict men of crime for trampling upon that Act. I deeply desire to speak to you concerning this attempt: and I, therefore, propose to meet you in Canandaigua, Tuesday and Wednesday, the 27th and 28th instant, at 2 P. M. each day.

Heaven forbid, that the County of Ontario should help enforce the cruellest, meanest, wickedest piece of legislation the world has ever known. Heaven preserve your beautiful County from a blot, which the tears of your children's and children's children's shame could not suffice to wash away.

GERRIT SMITH.

Peterboro', Sept. 19th, 1853.

Meeting at New Lyme. According to appointment, we went with Mr. Foster to New Lyme on Friday last, and there attended meetings on Saturday and Sunday. The people were greatly disappointed in not meeting Mrs. Foster, as she too had been advertised to be present. But her feeble health rendered it imprudent to undertake so long a ride, during the excessive heat of last week. Mrs. Foster's fidelity to the slave, and her jealousy of his interest, have brought down upon her head such contumely, slander and abuse, as have been heaped upon no woman now living, and such as none but slaveholding politicians and hypocritical priests could either invent or propagate. But it would have been a full compensation to her, even if she had no higher reward, to learn, as we learned at New Lyme, the earnest, cordial sympathy extended to her for her work's sake, and of the true and high appreciation of her faithful labors, by the best men and women of the community.—*A. S. Bugle.*

Runaway Negroes Captured. Last week, a young Kentuckian, who resides in the neighborhood of New Lancaster, Knox county, observing a couple of negroes near the residence of a man by the name of Parks, and having a suspicion that said Parks was one of the conductors of the under-ground railroad, rallied some friends and proceeded to his residence for the purpose of reconnoitering. On reaching the house, they found the wagon of Parks, with two negroes aboard, just ready to take their departure Northward. They seized the horses, took the negroes, tied them, and proceeded toward this place, to cross into Missouri.

In the meantime, Parks raised a gang of his friends, and started in pursuit; but the young Kentuckian and his crowd, (except two, who fell into the hands of the abolitionists,) distanced them, and arrived at this place with the negroes on Monday night last. On Tuesday morning, they crossed over to Alexandria.

This affair has been the cause of considerable excitement in Alexandria. It appears that Dr. Richardson, of La Harpe, and Mr. Kendle, or Kimble, of Carthage, followed the negroes and their captors to this place, on Tuesday. Learning that they had crossed the river, they followed over to Alexandria, where they found the negroes had been confined in jail. Richardson and Kendle alleged that the negroes had been kidnapped, and demanded a private interview with them, that they might take measures to secure their release on habeas corpus. The request was granted. Previous to confining the negroes in jail, their persons had been searched, and every thing except their clothing had been taken from them.

A white man who was in jail for assault and battery, being in the adjoining room to the negroes, overheard the conversation between Kendle and the negroes, and he reported to the jailor that Kendle had given matches to the negroes, and advised them to fire the jail, and he would provide help to release and run them off. The negroes were immediately searched again, and matches found on the person of each of them. This matter being noised about the streets, Richardson prudently left for this side of the river; but Kendle was arrested, and is now held in custody.

The negroes belong to John Flowree, of Marion county.—*Warsaw (Ill.) Express.*

Negro Pens. Nothing better illustrates the favorable progress of public opinion at the South, than a controversy now going on in Louisville about the removal of slave pens from that city. Pens in which human beings are huddled together like hogs, for inspection and sale, exist in that place by virtue of a city ordinance; but public sentiment being so much regenerated as to be shocked at the inhumanity involved in their continuance, the Councils have been induced to repeal the ordinance. The Mayor, however, has interposed his veto, leaving the citizens to adopt some other method of relieving their city from the reproach of barbarism. A writer in the Louisville *Courier*, expressing a determination to have the sale and purchase of slaves, as a business, prohibited within the city, says: 'Hog pens in the outskirts of the town are intolerable, but a negro pen in the heart of the city, before the eyes of everybody, is a nuisance which all cry out must and shall be abated.' We are glad to note this evidence of a growth of the right kind of sentiment in the right quarter.—*Pittsburgh Gazette.*

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

The Czar has refused the Turkish note. The impression was, that war is now almost inevitable.

It was currently reported, although no foundation was apparent for the report, that the Turks had attacked the Russian outposts, but no general engagement had been had. This whole rumor is doubtful.

The words of the Vienna dispatch:—

'The Czar rejects the Turkish modifications, but abides by the Vienna note, and promises to evacuate the Principalities, if the Porte accepts it pure and simple.'

This yet leaves one chance for peace.

Another telegraph says a new manifesto is expected from Russia.

The Turks were quite ripe for war. Omar Pascha had difficulty in restraining his troops from hostilities. Fanaticism on both sides was at its height.

Anonymous placards on the walls, calling on the faithful to attack the Russians, had much excited the people, and it was only on the special demand of representatives of the Powers that the Sultan had consented to postpone issuing his manifesto to his people. This manifesto is in warlike language, and is indeed a declaration of war.

The Turks continued their armaments. Everything was paid for in specie. The Turkish levy of 80,000 additional men went on actively, and detachments were constantly marching to join Omar Pascha on the Danube.

Vienna letters say—'It is so fully expected here that the Washington Cabinet will consent to Kozsta being given up to the Austrian authorities at Smyrna, that it is not advisable even to doubt.'

It appears that the reason Count Appony, Austrian Minister at Farin, was so suddenly withdrawn, was to mark Austria's displeasure with the friendly relations between Sardinia and the United States.

Cassius M. Clay.—A conspiracy to destroy the life of this fearless and true-hearted champion of freedom of freedom, was recently discovered in Kentucky, an dthwarted. Mr. Clay is a thorn in the slaveholders' sides, and they are anxious to dispose of him.

Hostilities on the Mexican Frontier.—Intelligence has been received at Washington from the Texan and Mexican frontiers, which informs the President that serious disturbances had taken place between the Mexican and American troops stationed in Mesilla Valley. Apprehension is felt by the President and Secretary of War, that, should the report prove correct, the peaceful relations between the two countries will be seriously jeopardized by the conflict.

The Hale Medal.—The presentation will take place at the Tremont Temple, on Thursday evening, Oct. 13th, on which occasion there will be appropriate speeches, music, &c. A small admission fee will be charged, to defray the expenses, and any surplus that may be obtained will be devoted to aid the seamen.

☞ At the Episcopal Convention in New York city, on Thursday, the colored church of St. Philip was admitted by an overwhelming majority of votes, both clerical and lay members voting in the affirmative. [This is well; but, if one of the members of this church should happen to be a fugitive slave, and should be taken in the fangs of some blood-hound Commissioner, would the stagnant pool of Episcopacy be at all stirred thereby? Judging from the past, it would not, nay, even if the whole of this colored church were devoured by the voracious maw of slavery.]

☞ The proprietors of the Weddell House, Cleveland, have dismissed all their white waiters, and employed colored men in their places. This is in consequence of the white waiters being engaged in strikes.

☞ Frederika Bremer's 'Travels in America' have at length been published in London.

TWENTIETH NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

To be held in Boston, Mass., during Christmas Week, 1853.

The Managers of the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar, in once more addressing their friends and fellow-laborers, for the purpose of entreating a warmer sympathy and more effective coöperation in their proposed movement, beg leave to submit a few suggestions which they trust may have a tendency to produce that result.

Twenty years have passed away since the first Fair to aid in the Abolition of American Slavery was held in the city of Boston. Twenty years of labor and effort, and still we remain a slaveholding nation, our first word of repentance, in a national capacity, yet to be uttered, our first work of mercy yet to be done. But have these labors and efforts, of which we may, properly enough, just now, consider this Bazaar an exponent, accomplished nothing? Only the childishly thoughtless or the wilfully false can venture to reply in the negative.

The battle has not been won; it has not even been fought; but its outposts have been carried, and the field, with its embattled hosts, lies plainly before us. Massacre of the masters, slaves contented and happy, amalgamation of races, Colonization, and similar fallacies—these are the refuges of lies which the abolitionists have swept away, and the issue between them and their opponents is narrowed to the simple question of material success and self-interest. The creed of the pro-slavery party is expressed in two lines,

'That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can.'

The blood-cemented prosperity, which should be its shame, is coolly adduced, in argument, as ample justification for continuance in crime.

Hence, no talk of *Gradualism* now obstructs our way. Kindly propositions in its behalf, from distant friends of the slave, ignorant of the essential diabolism which is the animating spirit of the Slave institution of this country, meet, from the slaveholding South and pro-slavery North alike, as bitter and unscrupulous an opposition as was ever meted out to the most energetic demand ever made for Immediate Abolition. The slaveholders understand perfectly, that the concessions of marriage, family ties, the Bible, are, in effect, emancipation. They have never been granted where men were held as property, for the very good reason that any such concession lays the axe at the root of so audacious and abominable a claim.

The signs of the times abroad, as well as at home, offer tokens of encouragement. In foreign lands, an agitation has been aroused which will never, we trust, again slumber. Christendom owes it to the name by which it is called to rally on this question. There has never been so vast a one submitted to its consideration; but, God be thanked, its simplicity is equal to its magnitude, and Monarchist and Republican, Catholic and Protestant, nay, though we have spoken of Christendom, Heathendom itself may see written, as with letters of light, on the heavens, that it is indeed 'a wild and guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man,' and doubly wild and doubly guilty when this phantasy controls the sentiment and shapes the action of a great and self-governing nation.

Apart from these and other general causes of encouragement, the Managers of the Bazaar, and those coöperating with them, may find special stimulus to exertion in the fact that the present arrangements of the American Anti-Slavery Society are such as to render an increased success of this undertaking more desirable, we might almost say imperative, than ever before.

The Receipts of the Bazaar are devoted to the sustentation of the Parent Society and its organ, the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, in the city of New York. There, in the very focus of pro-slavery opposition, a banner in behalf of the perishing slave has been raised, and its triumph will be in some measure commensurate with the supplies that this movement may be enabled to furnish.

The details of the Bazaar are so well understood, that we feel any particular specifications unnecessary.

We cordially invite the assistance of every lover of Freedom, pledging ourselves to all such for a conscientious fulfilment of all the duties that our present position imposes on us.

Donations of any kind, either in manufactured articles, materials for manufacture, or money, will be gratefully received by any of the Managers whose names and addresses are subjoined, or any further information that may be requested will be cheerfully given.

ANNE WARREN WESTON, Weymouth, Mass.
ANN GREENE PHILLIPS, Essex st., Boston.
HELEN E. GARRISON, 8 Dix Place, Boston.
LOUISA LORING, 27 State st., Boston.
MARY MAY, 4 Franklin Place, Boston.
SARAH RUSSELL MAY, Leicester, Mass.
MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, care Messrs. Green & Co., Paris, France.
CAROLINE WESTON, " "
MARY GRAY CHAPMAN.
HENRIETTA SARGENT, 156 Tremont st., Boston.
FRANCES MARY ROBBINS, Brush Hill, Milton.
ELIZA LEE FOLLEN.
SUSAN C. CABOT.
THANKFUL SOUTHWICK, Danvers, Mass.
SARAH H. SOUTHWICK, Portland, Me.
CAROLINE F. WILLIAMS, 75 Southac st., Boston.
MARY H. JACKSON, 1071 Washington st., Boston.
ELIZABETH GAY, 142 Nassau st., New York.
CHARLOTTE S. SARGENT, 70 Dover st., Boston.
SARAH S. RUSSELL, Jamaica Plain, Roxbury, Mass.
SARAH BLAKE SHAW.
ELIZA F. EDDY, 7 Hollis st., Boston.
E. C. VON ARNIM, 18 South st., Boston.
MARY WILLEY, Lowell st., Boston.
EVELINA A. S. SMITH, Harrison Square, Dorchester, Mass.
ANN REBECCA BRAMHALL, 47 Milk st., Boston.
LYDIA PARKER, Exeter Place, Boston.
MARIA LOWELL, Elmwood, Cambridge, Mass.
ABBY FRANCIS, Cambridge, Mass.

EIGHTEENTH PENNSYLVANIA

ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

The Eighteenth Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair will be opened in the Assembly Buildings, Philadelphia, on the evening of the 5th of December, 1853, and will continue during the following three days. The Committee of Arrangements feel that no argument on their part can be necessary to enlist the hearty sympathy and active coöperation of the abolitionists of Pennsylvania in this department of labor. Its utility is fully proved—its necessity deeply felt. The present encouraging aspects of our enterprise should increase the energy of our efforts to bring it to its consummation. The victories already won are earnests of the final and complete triumph of Liberty over Slavery; and it is with renewed hope and strength that we address ourselves to the work of preparation for our next Fair. Its profits will be devoted, as heretofore, to the dissemination of the principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society, viz: the inherent sinfulness of slavery, and the duty of immediate and unconditional emancipation, and to the advocacy of the truths and inculcation of the duties which are necessarily deduced from these principles.

In this work we confidently rely upon the efficient aid of the abolitionists of Pennsylvania, upon whose zeal and industry the success of our Fair depends. Any coöperation or assistance from friends abroad will be gratefully received.

The Committee have selected an earlier time than usual for holding the Fair, in order that it may immediately follow the meeting which is to be held in this city in celebration of the completion of the second decade of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

Wendell Phillips' address hereafter is Boston, Mass. *A. S. Standard, Bugle* and *Freeman*, please copy.

☞ All letters and papers intended for Joseph Barker, must hereafter be addressed to him at Salem, Columbiana county, Ohio.

Notices of Meetings, &c.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE PENNSYLVANIA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society will be held in Norristown, on the 24th, 25th and 26th days of October, 1853.

The importance of frequent meetings of the friends of our cause, for mutual counsel and encouragement, and for concert of plan and effort, is so well understood, that it need not be urged upon them. To the public generally we say: Our meetings are open to all; we invite to a participation in our discussions, all, whether friends or opponents, who desire honestly to examine or discuss the principles or measures of the Anti-Slavery enterprise. We welcome to our ranks all those who, believing slavery to be a sin, earnestly and faithfully labor for its abolition, whatever other differences of opinion may exist between us.

JAMES MOTT, *Chairman.*
Haworth Wetherald, *Secretary.*

☞ MIDDLESEX COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—A quarterly meeting of the *Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society* will be held at FRAMINGHAM, in the Town Hall, on Sunday, Oct. 16, commencing at 10½ o'clock, A. M., and continuing afternoon and evening.

Wendell Phillips, Rev. Andrew T. Foss, and Samuel May, Jr., will be present.

The members of the Society, all friends of the cause, and all persons willing to know the truth of American Slavery, are invited to attend.

WILLIAM WHITING, *Pres.*
Mary M. Brooks, *Sec.*

☞ OLD COLONY A. S. SOCIETY.—A quarterly meeting of this Society will be held in the Town Hall at PEMBROKE, on Sunday, October 16, commencing at 10½ o'clock, A. M., and continuing at 1½ and 7 o'clock, P. M.

G. B. Stebbins and N. H. Whiting will be present and address the meeting. Come, one and all, to the rescue of liberty and humanity. A word to the wise is sufficient.

BOURNE SPOONER, *President.*
H. H. Brigham, *Sec'ry.*

☞ REV. ANDREW T. FOSS, an Agent of the *Worcester County (South Division) Anti-Slavery Society*, will lecture as follows:—

Worcester	Sunday	Oct.	9.
Shrewsbury	Tuesday	"	11.
Northboro'	Wednesday	"	12.
Berlin	Thursday	"	13.
Marlboro'	Friday	"	14.
Framingham	Sunday	"	16.
Sherburne	Tuesday	"	18.
Holliston	Wednesday	"	19.

☞ G. B. STEBBINS, an Agent of the Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows:—

East Bridgewater	Friday eve'ng	Oct.	7.
Abington	Sunday	"	9.

N. B. The Sunday meetings will be meetings of the County Society.

In behalf of the Society, LEWIS FORD.

☞ LECTURES.—The Tenth Course of Lectures before the Salem Female Anti-Slavery Society will be delivered, upon successive Sunday evenings, at Lyceum Hall, at 7 o'clock.

Oct. 9th, Rev. T. W. Higginson, of Worcester.
" 16th, " Samuel Johnson, of Salem.
" 23d, " C. C. Shackford, of Lynn.
" 30th, " Thomas T. Stone, of Bolton.
Nov. 6th, " John T. Sargent, of Boston.
" 13th, Wendell Phillips, of Boston.
" 20th, Wm. Lloyd Garrison, "

Tickets for course, 37½ cents; single admittance, 6¼ cents.

ELIZA J. KENNY, *Rec. Sec'y.*
Salem, Sept. 20, 1853.

☞ LYCEUM SCIENTIFIC LECTURES. Prof. W. S. Brown, author of 'Chemistry for Beginners,' &c., respectfully announces that he is now prepared to enter into engagements with Lyceums, for the delivery of his new Lecture, 'The Romance of Food.' This is a chemico-physiological lecture, embracing the food of plants and animals; new and old theories of nutrition; adulterations, and simple methods for their detection; analysis of extensively advertised nostrums, &c. &c. illustrated with practical experiments.

Letters addressed to 'Prof. W. S. Brown, Merchant's Exchange Hotel, State street, Boston,' during September and October; or, if later, sent to 'Blackstone, Mass.,' will receive immediate attention.

Boston, Sept. 30. 6t

OBITUARY.

Died, at his residence in Milton, Ulster Co., N. Y., on the 18th July, 1853, Nicholas Hallock, aged 68 years.

He was, for many years, a minister of the Society of Friends, of the Hicksite order, earnestly advocating the various reforms, as Temperance Anti-Slavery, &c. and exposing the impositions of a corrupt priesthood. He was, in connection with a whole Monthly Meeting who supported him, tyrannically disowned by the New York Yearly Meeting, for his fearlessness in rebuking sin in high places.

He suffered much in his last sickness, and bore it with patience; said it was 'by immutable laws that we live, suffer and die'; that his 'only desire to live was to do good to man;' he had 'no faith to renounce, or heresy to repent of.' He gave particular directions that these things should be stated at his funeral; wished to have his body dissected, that, though dead, he might benefit the sick, suffering from such diseases as his symptoms indicated. It was done. He was conscious to the very last; looked up and said, 'I am gone,' and breathed his last as though he was going to sleep. It seemed not like death, it was so quiet; but he had no fears of death, so went to sleep quietly, with the best of life's last opiate, a well-spent life.

COLONIZATION.

Facts and Opinions touching the Real Origin, Character and Influence of the American Colonization Society; Views of Wilberforce, Clarkson and others, and Opinions of the Free People of Color of the United States. By G. B. Stebbins. Preface by Hon. Wm. Jay.

Mr. Stebbins's able exposure of the great Colonization humbug is thus noticed:

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Boston, April 20, 1853.

POETRY.

A STILL DAY IN AUTUMN.

BY SARAH HELEN WHITMAN.

I love to wander through the woodlands hoary,
In the soft gloom of an autumnal day,
When Summer gathers up her robes of glory,
And, like a dream of beauty, glides away.

How through each loved, familiar path she lingers,
Serenely smiling through the golden mist,
Tinting the wild grape with her dewy fingers,
Till the cool emerald turns to amethyst,—

Kindling the faint stars of the hazel, shining
To light the gloom of autumn's mouldering halls,
With hoary plumes the clematis entwining,
Where o'er the rock her withered garland falls,—

Warm lights are on the sleepy uplands waning
Beneath dark clouds along th' horizon rolled,
Till the slant sunbeams through their fringes raining,
Bathe all the hills in melancholy gold.

The moist winds breathe of crispéd leaves and flowers.
In the damp hollows of the woodland sown,
Mingling the freshness of autumnal showers
With spicy airs from cedarn alleys blown.

Beside the brook, and on the umbered meadow,
Where yellow fern-tufts deck the faded ground,
With folded lids beneath their palmy shadow,
The gentian nods, in dewy slumbers bound.

Upon those soft, fring'd lids, the bee sits brooding,
Like a fond lover, loth to say farewell,
Or, with shut wings, through silken folds intruding,
Creeps near her heart, his drowsy tale to tell.

The little birds upon the hill-side lonely,
Flit noiselessly along from spray to spray,
Silent as a sweet, wandering thought, that only
Shows its bright wings, and softly glides away.

The scentless flowers, in the warm sunlight dreaming,
Forget to breathe their fulness of delight,
And through the trancéd woods soft airs are streaming,
Still as the dew-fall of the summer night.

So, in my heart a sweet, unwonted feeling
Stirs, like the wind in ocean's hollow shell,
Through all its secret chambers sadly stealing,
Yet finds no word its mystic charm to tell.

HARVEST HOME.

Hark! from woodlands far away,
Sounds the merry roundelay;
Now across the russet plain,
Slowly moves the loaded wain:
Greet the reapers as they come,—
Happy, happy harvest home!

Never fear the wintry blast;
Summer suns will shine at last;
See the golden grain appear,
See the produce of the year!
Greet the reapers as they come,—
Happy, happy harvest home!

Children, join the jocund ring,
Young and old, come forth and sing;
Strippling blithe, and maiden gay,
Hail the rural holiday!
Greet the reapers as they come,—
Happy, happy harvest home!

THE LIBERATOR.

THE BANE AND ANTIDOTE.

A CORRESPONDENCE UPON INFIDELITY AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, BETWEEN A 'CHRISTIAN' AND A 'MODERN INFIDEL.'

MARSHFIELD, Sept. 25, 1853.

FRIEND GARRISON:

I received a letter, a short time ago, the object of which appeared to be to show up the evil influences of Infidelity, particularly as exemplified in the French Revolution of 1789. The writer saw fit to conceal his name, perhaps because he does not work to be seen of men. But the letter bears the impress of Rev. Theology so plainly, that there can be no doubt about its paternity. I shall be glad if you will publish it, together with my reply, in some number of your paper, if you have the room to spare.

Yours truly, N. H. WHITING.

TO NATHANIEL WHITING, ESQ.:

The maxim that, in relation to religious faith, 'it matters little what a man thinks, if he only acts right,' is no less pernicious in influence than false in theory. Persons who receive such a maxim forget that our speculative notions exert a powerful influence in the formation of our character, and in the conduct of our lives. 'As a man thinketh, so is he,' is a maxim whose import is imperfectly understood and imperfectly appreciated. As a man thinketh, so does he become, not only in his character, but in his life, his conduct, and his hopes. The thought forms the man. Speculative opinions are not, then, the harmless things that have been supposed. They are powerful for good or for evil; and as powerful in their bearings on society as on individuals.

The opinion was once prevalent, that government had a right to exact conformity in all matters of religious faith and usage. This was a mere speculative opinion. But what were the consequences which grew out of it? They are depicted in traces of blood, in the persecutions and atrocious acts of violence and oppression to which it has given rise. But a few centuries ago, the speculative opinion prevailed throughout the civilized world, that negroes were, in relation to man, a distinct species, unendowed with the attributes of humanity. How wide-spread and lasting have been the results of that speculative opinion! Africa has been robbed of millions of her wretched sons, who have been doomed to all the horrors of a hopeless, life-long bondage. Denied the character and prerogatives of man, they have been hunted down like beasts of the forest; and even civilized and Christian nations have engaged in the unholy traffic, without compunction or remorse. And still, perhaps, would the traffic have continued, unchecked and unrebuked, but for the development and fuller comprehension of that other and truer speculative doctrine, that 'God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth.'

But one example more. A few years since, the opinion was set afloat by one of our distinguished statesmen that 'all men were born free and independent.' That was a mere matter of belief—a speculative opinion. But how did its announcement startle, as by an electric shock, the whole nation! How did it arouse our forefathers, as one man, in the cause of liberty! How did that simple opinion—so simple—comprehended in so brief an expression—how did it set in motion a train of causes and effects, pregnant with the most glorious consequences to the human race! For three quarters of a century, it has been the rallying-word of freedom over half the globe.

Tell us, then, no longer that it is no matter what a man believes. It often makes all the difference between a freeman and a slave, between a Christian and an Infidel, and, in its final results, all the difference between an angel of light and a fiend of darkness. Bunyan represents the Hill of Error as being 'very steep on the farthest side,' and Christian and Hopeful as beholding at its base the unburied bodies of those who had been 'dashed in pieces' by their fall. This allegorical representation accords with all history and all experience: its elements are deeply laid in the very philosophy of our nature.

Indeed, we may lay it down as a proposition susceptible of the most rigid demonstration—*if*, indeed, it be not, in itself, too self-evident to require proof—*that truth is always beneficial, both to individuals and to society*, while error is equally injurious to both. We do not mean to say that all truth is equally beneficial, or that all error is equally pernicious. That error in which a man is involved, who discovers only through the mistiness of some false theory the sunbeams of truth, and is thereby incited to its pursuit, is widely different from that whose influence is all counter to the truth. Nor will we say but that truth may sometimes seem to be prejudicial. But it is only a seeming, and not a real prejudice. The Christian martyr, who seals with his blood his testimony to the truth, may seem to be a sufferer in consequence of the truth; but it is only *seems*; it is not real. Did he not feel, even as his burning sinews grasped the martyr's stake, that for him to die, and to die just so, was gain? Did he not, even while expiring amidst the burning flame, rejoice that he was counted worthy to suffer for the sake of the Lord Jesus? No, error can never be put in competition with truth, whatever may be the immediate consequences of either. As the pure gold is to be preferred to the counterfeit, so is truth to be preferred to error. Truth, wherever it may lead—whether into poverty or into the palace, into exile, chains and bondage, while error stalks in pride and revels in luxury—still is truth, with all its seeming ills, better than error, with all its seeming good. The evil sometimes attendant upon truth is from without, is extrinsic, and not real; that which flows from error is legitimate. The votaries of truth suffer, but the blow falls upon them in spite of truth's defence. The votaries of error are stung by error itself. This is the scale—that of experience, practical results—in which we would poise Christianity and Infidelity. By its fruits, Christianity is shown to be of God. Wisdom is justified by her children; it meets the wants and is adapted to the condition of man; it ennobles his whole character and elevates his condition. Tried by the same test, Infidelity fails. The true moral element it wants; the germ of a depraved heart and a clouded intellect, its influence cannot but be pernicious, its results ruinous.

The world will probably for ever look to France as affording a full and fearful illustration of the practical folly of Infidelity in a nation. There never was but one government that was professedly atheistic; and the whole civilized world will, I am sure, join in the prayer to God that there never may be another. Voltaire and his associates sowed thickly the seeds of Infidelity; and, amid the moral corruptions of a profligate nation, they shot forth into a rapid and luxuriant growth.

At the commencement of the French Revolution, the National Assembly appointed a Committee to inquire and report whether there were, or ought to be, a God. This Committee reported that a God in heaven was inconsistent with liberty on earth; and further, that there was no God in heaven, and that death was an eternal sleep. We are not told how long the Committee were in session, nor the process by which they reached their conclusion. The Assembly adopted the report, and thenceforth it became the voice of the nation. The Bible was burnt, the Sabbath abolished, and the worship of the Goddess of Liberty, in the person of a vile woman, ordained. This was only the beginning of the drama; the closing scene was terrible beyond description. 'It converted the most polished nation of Europe into a nation of fiends and furies, and the theatre of voluptuous refinement into a stall of blood. The mighty Mind who governs the universe—whose being they had denied, whose word they had burned, whose worship they had abolished, whose protection they had denied, and whose wrath they had defied—withdrew his protection and gave them up. With the ferocity of famished tigers, they fastened on each other's throats, and commenced the work of death.' The scenes of horror and of woe which then ensued can only be realized in the great day of retribution. Those who should have been angels of mercy and ministers of justice seemed to be transformed into demons of wrath, whose bosoms were incapable of relenting or of pity. Rills of blood flowed down from the guillotine. Neither age nor sex were spared.

But what were these events more than the natural consequences of a system that renounces all responsibility, cuts off eternity from our view, and converts man into a brute? 'What,' exclaimed one of the actors in this drama of death, 'what is it to kill a man? It is only just to change the direction of a few ounces of blood.' It is estimated that, during the reign of Infidelity in France, not less than five millions of lives were made a sacrifice. Who could wish such principles to become prevalent? Not, certainly, the friend of humanity; and yet, the very men who propagate them, profess to be the friends of humanity, and laboring for the good of the race.

Let us place in contrast with these fruits of Infidelity, the fruits of Christianity. In the midst of the broad Pacific—seemingly on the very outskirts of the globe—lie clustered the group of the Sandwich Islands. A darker theatre of barbarism, a more revolting scene of human degradation, than these Islands once exhibited, has probably never once been revealed to the civilized world. In 1819, a small band of eight or ten individuals, protected by the thunder of no cannon, supported by no arm of secular power, sailed from a Christian port, in a distant part of the globe, to carry to these islands the everlasting gospel. Successfully they pursued their voyage, and at length reached the land selected for their future toils. What language can describe the scene of houseless poverty and of almost hopeless degradation that was before them! Go and contemplate the result of missionary labors, and the genuine fruit of Christianity, in the scene presented now by these same Islands! You behold the ports thronged with ships from every nation and clime under heaven; signs of civilization, beautiful villages and healthful abodes, are scattered all along their coasts. Behold the churches of the living God, raising high their heaven-directed spires; while schools of learning, those nurseries of civilization and religion, are scattered abroad throughout the land. The hand of agriculture enriches and beautifies the country, and the appliances of art are every where seen. Printing presses, too, are pouring out their rich treasures to nurture and enrich the mind. Christianity, in thirty years, has wrought this transformation. Look upon the picture, and receive instruction.

Infidelity found France a great and powerful nation, with a system of government and social organization comprehensive and harmonious, and with a populous and thriving community; but in one brief campaign, it succeeded in unsettling the very foundations of society, breaking down the government, producing the most hopeless anarchy, and drenching the land in blood. The effusion of blood was stayed only by the combined forces of the allied Christian nations. Christianity found the Sandwich Islands in the most hopeless state of degradation; the light of intellect almost extinct, the virtues of the heart almost eradicated, and the very form and uses of humanity almost lost. In the short space of twenty years, behold what a resurrection from the grave of moral pollution was wrought! Science and civilization, peace and happiness, domestic affection and family enjoyment overspreads the land. And even now, they stand forth the coadjutors of Christian nations in benevolent and Christian enterprises.

Some have affected to tremble for the fate of Christianity in this portentous struggle, on the one hand, with the skepticism and intellectual pride of the arrogant and assuming, and on the other, with the ribald buffoonery and the blasphemous assaults of the open and scoffing Infidel. But we say, distinctly and emphatically, that we have no sympathy with such fears. Christianity has never yet sought sanction or support from sources such as these. It lives not by their permission, but in spite of their power. To doubt its perpetuity is to doubt its authenticity. To doubt the result of such a contest is to doubt the divinity of its origin, the vitality of its power, and the scope and grandeur of its mission. Infidels may assail, philosophical skeptics may endeavor to supplant, the ranting buffoon may pour out the froth of his contempt, but the foundations of the Gospel are laid down in the great substratum of truth, deeper than mortal power can reach. We repeat, then, we have no fears for Christianity. It is a feeble heart, or an intellect already perverted, that can question the final issue, severe as may be the conflict. Omnipotence must be shorn of its power, and truth be divested of its virtue, before Christianity can fall. The sentiment was beautifully and truthfully expressed by the most venerable review in our country, that 'as long as the instinctive belief in God, written on the human heart, remains unerased—and though it may be obscured, it can never be erased; it is indelible, wrought into the very fibre and texture and life of man's being; as long as man remains capable of soberly appreciating the force and value of evidence; and as long as his moral and spiritual wants, his sense of dependence, his consciousness of sin and alienation, his longing for redemption and reconcilement, his aspirations after holiness and immortality remain; so long Christianity must remain—remain to give consolation to affliction, peace to the conscience, a sure anchor to man's highest hopes; remain to raise the degraded, to purify the corrupt, to encourage the fallen, as well as to keep a loftier goal before the eyes of the most advanced in moral progress, the foremost in the spiritual race; remain to reform and regenerate human life and human society, by diffusing its pure and gentle spirit of self-denial and benevolence, adding to the natural and ordinary restraints from wrong and motives to duty, the sanctions of religious truth and future retribution.'

MARSHFIELD, Aug. 31, 1853.

TO ——— ———:

I received, through the 'Ladies' Fair,' recently held in this place, the foregoing letter, addressed to me, but without date or signature. Why you have written anonymously is better known to yourself than to me. You probably intended it as a mortal blow at what you term my 'Infidelity.' I have just 'Infidel' breath enough left to acknowledge its reception, which I hasten to do. As Nanty Ewart said to Cristal Nixon, in Scott's 'Redgauntlet,' 'I will not die ungrateful'; so I send you the following in return.

You commence your letter by quoting what you call a maxim of somebody, that, 'in relation to religious faith, it matters little what a man thinks, if he acts right.' You affirm that this 'maxim' 'is no less pernicious in influence than false in theory.' Permit me to say, you have been setting up a 'man of straw,' for the poor privilege of knocking him down. I do not know of any one who holds to such a maxim in an absolute, unqualified sense. There are those (and I am of that number) who believe that a man's actions furnish the best evidence that can be obtained as to what he *does actually think or believe*. For we may say, belief is the tree, of which actions are the fruit. When we see the fruit, we do not hunt up the tree to ascertain its kind and quality; being well satisfied that 'an evil tree cannot bring forth good fruit, nor a good tree evil fruit.'

In the time of Jesus, there was a class of men (and they have left a numerous progeny) whose religion consisted mainly in the observance of various forms and ceremonies, and in the promulgation of sundry metaphysical dogmas. They made long prayers, idolized Abraham and Moses, and garnished the sepulchres of the prophets whom their ancestors had stoned. They put the utmost faith in the old traditions, and contended with furious zeal for the special holiness of the 'Sabbath day.' These, with them, were the very essence of religion. They charged upon Jesus as a crime, which marked him as an 'Infidel and blasphemer,' that he spoke lightly of Moses and the dead prophets; did not 'regard the traditions of the *elders*'; consorted with 'publicans and sinners'; and, above all, '*kept not the Sabbath day*.'

By the way, is it not curious in the coincidence, that the same charges are brought against the reformers of the present day, by those who claim to be the especial favorites of the Deity, and to have a monopoly of piety, that were preferred against Jesus and his disciples by the Pharisees of theirs?

Against these formalists—these sticklers for tradition—these tythers of 'mint, anise and cummin'—Jesus levelled his heaviest artillery of rebuke and denunciation. 'By their fruits ye shall know them,' said he, in reply to the charge of heresy, and in exposition of the hypocrisy of his enemies, the Jews. 'By their fruits ye shall know them.' It is put forth as sound orthodoxy in this community, that it is better for a man to *profess* something, even if he makes no attempt to live it out, than that he should live an upright and useful life, and make no profession. Is this your idea when you say that 'speculative notions exert a powerful influence in the formation of our character, and in the conduct of our lives'? If so, your belief needs some revision and modification.

When governments exacted conformity in religious belief, and 'civilized and Christian nations' engaged in the unholy traffic of enslaving men, 'without compunction or remorse,' they professed to be Christians! Were they really so? If they were, then Christianity is compatible with the direst cruelty and the most crushing tyranny. If they were not, what effect had their mere profession in making them liberal and humane, and in causing them to do to others as they would have others do to them?

You say a speculative opinion was put forth by a great statesman, that 'all men were born free and independent.' The nation professed to organize itself upon that truth. Did the profession liberate the slaves in the country? What was it worth, then? This nation, too, is 'Christian,' in distinction from Pagan, Mahometan, or Infidel. Is it in accordance with Christianity to own slaves? If not, what better is the profession you make than the 'Infidelity' of which you complain? Nay more, is it as good? The 'Infidelity' of France liberated the slaves in that republic. The Republicanism and Christianity of America forge fetters, and nourish and sustain slavery in its worst form. Which will mankind be likely to choose as a benefactor, and reject as a curse?

There is no doubt but 'truth is always beneficial to individuals and to society, while error is equally injurious to both.' But you cannot tell whether the truth is in a man by what he *says*, only by what he *does*. Which of the two sons in the parable showed the most of it, he who said he would perform the work, and did it not, or the other, who declared he would not do it, but still went and did it? *The truth there is in a man or nation, flowers and fructifies only through the life.*

If I understand your affirmation, it is, that whatever conduces to the welfare of man is 'Christian,' while every thing that tends to evil is 'Infidel.' You say, 'This is the scale—that of experience, of practical results—in which to poise Christianity and Infidelity. By its fruits, Christianity is shown to be of God.' Of course, Infidelity is of the devil. But what is Christianity? what is Infidelity? and where may these be found?

You say, 'France affords a full and fearful illustration of the practical folly of infidelity in a nation.' That great uprising of the people, called '*The French Revolution*'—that volcanic eruption—that moral and political earthquake which shook the civilized world to its centre, which toppled down thrones and overthrew empires that had stood tranquil for ages, which wrung from the hand of spiritual and political despotism a degree of freedom for the common people they had never before enjoyed—you characterize as the product of 'Infidelity.' If it were, then for that, in its conception, and even in its ultimate results, Infidels have no cause to blush. The truth is, that Revolution was caused by the most outrageous oppression—by a despotism which had ground the people until forbearance ceased to be a virtue. It grew out of man's love of liberty, his hatred of oppression, and his faith in God, or Good, in the highest sense of that term. I know the French Revolution has been the bugbear of Christendom for more than half a century. It is used to repress every attempt to abandon the old landmarks of Church and State, and launch out into new voyages of discovery and experiment in religion and politics. This hue and cry has had its effect; but it is losing its influence. How far an interested ecclesiastical and political despotism has falsified the facts of history in order to make out a case against the revolutionists of France, probably will never be fully known. But some of the facts are coming to light. Historians are now compelled to admit that the French Revolution was not the unmixed evil priests and tyrants have endeavored to make it. Did you ever consider any of the causes which led to that crash of empires, and the shedding of those rivers of blood? Do you know what was the condition of the French people previous to the outbreak? Look just now at a very few of the facts. I say nothing of the monarchy here, which, of course, drew its life from the blood of the masses, except as I allude to it incidentally, in speaking of the general state of the nation. *There were a hundred and fifty thousand of the clergy!* They were exempt from taxation; they owned more than half the land in France; the income from this and their tithes was enormous. The nobility numbered *two hundred thousand*. They were exempt from most of the taxes; they owned nearly all the land not in the possession of the clergy. What must have been the state of a country swarming with these

'—— thousands of State-gorged leeches,
And the Church's locust band'?

The millions of the common people were in a state of famine; wages were next to nothing; provisions were almost beyond the reach of the multitude. The article of salt alone was twelve dollars a hundred weight. A man could make more by smuggling a quart of salt than by a day's work at any of the ordinary employments of the laboring people. The farmer could not plough his land nor gather his harvests, at certain times and places, lest he should disturb the young partridges and rabbits. He was forbidden to kill any of the creatures which the nobility and clergy hunted as game, however much damage they might do him, under heavy penalties. The most stolid ignorance and superstition prevailed. But I cannot go on with the catalogue of injustice and oppression. The world will never know the whole story; for, as Carlyle has said, the sufferers were 'the dumb millions,' for whom Church and State had no voice, and no bowels of compassion.

Yet, you say that 'Infidelity [that is, the Revolution] found France a great and powerful nation, with a system of government and a social organization comprehensive and harmonious, and with a populous and thriving community.' I do not know what your idea of *harmony* and *thrift* may be. When the people were on the verge of starvation, multitudes of them went to Versailles to petition the 'harmonious government' for relief. The answer they received was the hanging of two of their number, and the rest driven off at the point of the bayonet. Under such circumstances, the people were ready to receive any thing that promised to ameliorate their condition. The tracts of the so-called Infidels were circulated and read with avidity by those who could read. These told of freedom for body and mind—of a social state where all should be prosperous and happy.

At this time, the American Revolution burst upon the world. The oppressed every where gazed upon its light, flashing across the heavens, as a bow of promise; the tyrants, as an omen of death. The French people arose, burst their fetters, and declared they were free. Then came the storm of fire and blood, that, for a time, swept away every vestige of the old Church and State. Despotism and Bigotry combined against the government of the people which was established on the ruins of the monarchy. They had their emissaries in every part of France. They were constantly plotting the overthrow of the republic. Attacked by the allied powers of Europe, maddened by the discovery of secret plots among the agents of the old monarchy, nobility and priesthood, there was a time when no one was safe who was connected with these orders. Then it was that the guillotine ran blood. 'It seemed as if Nature was in her death-throes,' and that Chaos again brooded over the earth. It was in reality a death-struggle against the falling dynasties of political and religious despotism. Looking at its violence and bloodshed, pharisaical piety holds up its hands in holy horror, and cries out, 'Behold the effects of Infidelity!' Yes, it was the result of 'Infidelity'; but of that kind which clothes itself with the name of 'Christian'—*the real wolf in sheep's clothing*.

That there were excesses, that there were cruelty and injustice on the part of the revolutionists towards many who were innocent, I do not deny. That the pendulum of religious belief swung clear to the other side, producing, for a time, a negation of all religion, is quite probable. It is natural it should be so, when we consider the character of the religion which was overthrown.

You say, the National Assembly declared 'that a God in heaven was inconsistent with liberty on earth.' *That was true, so far as the God who had been worshipped and inculcated by the governing powers of France was concerned.* The God of the priesthood and the monarchy was a God of oppression, of superstition, of starvation for the millions—of idleness and luxury for the few, of toil and poverty for the many. The existence of such a God is inconsistent with freedom on earth. It should be emphatically denied.

But 'Christianity, the Bible and the Sabbath were set aside, and their destruction sought for.' If I mistake not, the religion which prevailed in France before the Revolution, was of that kind whose introduction into this country you think is fraught with fearful dangers to our civil and religious liberties. It was 'the old harlot of Rome'—'the mystic Babylon' of the Apocalypse. The Bible burnt was the Bible of the same 'old Jezebel,' and the Sabbath destroyed was the weekly holiday on which the old beldame performed her impious and blasphemous orgies. Would the world lose much by the destruction of them?

They tried to substitute for the worship of this 'old Babylon,' that of the 'Goddess of Liberty,' you say, 'in the person of a vile woman.' It was, probably, a poor attempt to symbolize that divine principle of freedom they professed to adore. It was to be expected that the priests of the God of despotism would call the symbol 'vile.' They had often done so by the original. 'If they call the master of the house Beelzebub, what will they say of those of his household?' This was the extreme into which the religious element swung, when released from the incubus of Romish superstition, which had weighed upon it for so many ages.

The effect of this, you say, was, 'to produce the most hopeless anarchy, and to drench the land in blood.' It is said by the liberal historians of the present day—Macaulay, Carlyle, and others—that 'the condition of the twenty millions of French people was never so good as during the continuance of that Revolution.' They were never so safe, so comfortable, or so happy. It was the thousands of priests and nobles whose howl of vengeance and wail of despair rang through Europe, and which have been echoed by their satellites from that day to this. It was the effort of European despotism to reëstablish itself in France, that 'drenched the land in blood.' With you, it was all caused by 'Infidelity.' This dwells in your imagination as if it were some horrid nightmare, and, like Banquo's ghost, stares you in the face at every turn.

You say, 'It is estimated that, during the reign of Infidelity in France, not less than five millions of lives were made a sacrifice.' Admit this to be true; what caused the sacrifice but the struggle of despotism to overthrow the republic? Through the military rule of Napoleon Bonaparte, they succeeded. Suppose all this might be attributed to Infidelity; what is that to the oceans of blood which have been shed by what is *called* Christianity, as developed in your Christian 'nations'? Its track may be traced in blood, ever since Constantine substituted the 'Cross' for the 'Eagle' in the banner of the Roman Empire. Look at the Crusades. Look at the struggle between the Catholics and Protestants during the last three or four centuries—the 'St. Bartholomew Massacres'—the burnings of Queen Mary—the butcheries of 'good Queen Bess.' Europe has been one vast battle-field. The ties of domestic and social life have been rudely snapped asunder; parents arrayed against children, brothers against brothers, nations against each other in horrid melee. All was done to crush heresy and Infidelity, and to maintain true religion. Those sounds of discord and murderous hate have not yet died away.

'Even now methinks I hear the infinite fierce chorus,
The cries of agony, the endless groan,
Which, through the ages that have gone before us,
In long reverberations reach our own.'

Is this the effect of *your* Christianity? If not, what is it? Let me say to you, that those who live in houses of glass should be a little cautious of throwing stones.

'The effusion of blood,' you say, 'was only stayed by the combined forces of the allied Christian nations.' '*Christian nations*'!! Where are they? There is Russia, with her forty millions of serfs, that has trod the life out of Poland, and is now, in the name of Christianity, seeking a pretext to conquer Turkey, partly to punish that Mohammedan honesty and humanity, which, at the hazard of national existence, gave a refuge to Kossuth and his companions when hunted by the deadly vengeance of Russia and Austria. That is one of your 'Christian nations'! Austria, with her grasp on the throat of Hungary, and her iron heel on the prostrate body of Liberty in Italy, is another. England, with her million paupers, her robber arm stretched out to grasp the dominion and the riches of India, and forcing a detestable traffic in opium with the Pagan Chinese, is another. These are your 'Christian nations'! They put down the 'Infidelity of France'—that is, they crushed the life out of the French Republic; and a more infamous combination, for a more infernal purpose, is scarcely to be found in human history.

But not to dwell on this part of your letter; I hesitate not to say, that the French Revolution of 1789 *was a blessing to mankind;* albeit it was, in many respects, the tornado and the hurricane, which often destroy much valuable property and life, while purging the air of noxious vapors and deadly miasma. Despotism had brooded over France for ages. Working silently, and often unseen, it had so thoroughly *carbonized* the moral and political atmosphere, that nothing but an earthquake and a hurricane could awaken the nations from their sleep of death, and infuse the life-giving oxygen of freedom into the social state. Those came. We may regret the exhibition of so much violence—the shedding of so much blood; but the philosophical observer is constrained to admit that, according to the common course of events, there was no other way to liberate the French people, and the people of Europe, from the weight of political and religious tyranny. The chains by which mankind had so long been bound were then broken in twain, never again to be firmly reünited. When we come to strike the balance of good and evil—to contrast the present condition of the people of France, even under the usurped dominion of Louis Napoleon, and of the rest of Europe, with what it was before the revolution, we must acknowledge it is on the side of humanity and freedom. Kingcraft and Priestcraft will do well to read the lesson aright, lest there be for them 'a more fearful looking-for of judgment and fiery indignation' in the future.

A word or two about the Sandwich Islands; a 'picture' upon which you urge me to look and 'receive instruction.' Perhaps I do not know the facts about those islands. I wish to know them. I do not know whether the religion taught those savages in the Pacific is the same as that imparted to the Cherokees, Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians in our country, which has made slaveholders of them, and induced them, or permitted them, in imitation of their white teachers, to pass laws making it a crime for 'any person to teach a free negro, or slave belonging to any one in the nation, to read or write,' and declaring that no negro or mulatto should hold any land, or own any horses, or cattle, or firearms—that the patrol may arrest any negro found straying away from the premises of his master, or bring him up for punishment, &c. &c. I say I do not know whether the savages in the Sandwich islands have been taught the same religion as the Indians of the Mississippi valley; but hope they have not. I suspect, however, that their civilization is full as much owing to the 'spirit of commerce' as the 'spirit of the gospel'—that the poor natives have learned far more of the vices than the virtues of our civilization. Indeed, it is whispered that the native population is fast wasting away under the withering influence of these vices. It may not be so. We will hope that these islands may afford the world one example of the glorious principles of the despised Prophet of Nazareth, organized into institutions as well as developed in the individual life. Its value to mankind, in the midst of the miserable abortions which pass by the name of 'Christian nations,' would be unlimited. May we live to see it verified.

You take pains to inform me that you are not afraid of 'Infidelity.' Some weak-minded people are; but 'you have no sympathy with such fears.' Pardon me for saying that you remind me of the man who whistles to keep up his courage, while he is frightened even at the elongation of his own, or his neighbor's shadow.

I think you have some cause to fear for the stability and permanence of that religion, which, passing under the name of Christianity, finds its home in the government of such nations as Russia, Austria, France, England, and slaveholding America. As sure as the night of superstition and political despotism is fading away before the growing light of knowledge and freedom, just so true is it that such a religion must fall. Yes, that religion which buys and sells men, women and children, drives them to unpaid toil, and herds them together like brutes—which passes Fugitive Slave Laws, and makes a nation of bloodhounds where there should be a nation of freemen,—which is represented by such men as Rev. Joel Parker, who declares 'there are no evils in slavery but such as are inseparable from every other condition in life'; by Dr. Spring, who says, 'If by one prayer I could liberate every slave in the land, I would not offer that prayer'; by Dr. Dewey, who would 'send his *mother* into slavery to save the Union'; by Dr. Sharp, who 'would obey the Fugitive Slave Law, whether wise or unwise, good or evil, right or wrong';—that religion which has trailed itself along through rivers of blood,—which recognizes the 'divine right of kings' to blind, rob and murder the people, and to 'reign by the grace of God,'—which, under the name of Catholic or Protestant, drove the Huguenots out of France, forbid the Catholics to educate their own children, sent the Pilgrims on their wintry voyage across the ocean, hung the Quakers, banished the Baptists, and established the rack, the stake, the gallows, to punish heretics for the glory of God;—that religion whose Alpha and Omega consists in subscribing to a creed, paying church rates, going to meeting Sundays, and partaking of the Sacrament, with full permission to drive as hard bargains as possible, or do any thing else which the law of the State does not pronounce a *crime*, on every other day of the week;—that religion which eulogizes drunkards and debauchees, authors of slave-hunting laws, practical *atheists*, denying that there is any higher law than the statute-book, any other God than the American Constitution; eulogizing them as saints, or patterns of morality, providing they signify their belief in the popular creed, and *condescend* to take the name of Christian;—that religion which pursues with the 'mad-dog' cry of 'Infidel,' and brands as unworthy of the public confidence, all those who do not believe in the infallibility of a book, and in the peculiar sanctity of Sunday, though their lives are ever so upright and useful;—that religion which looks upon *profession* as better than *practice*,—a dogma, a creed, as better than a life;—such a religion must go down under the expansion and elevation of the human mind: and it ought to go down, 'deeper than plummet line hath ever sounded,' with the curses of every liberal and aspiring soul upon its head.

But the religion taught in the life and precepts of Jesus of Nazareth,—which feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, liberates the captive, draws a cord of love around the great human family, is 'peace on earth and good will to men,'—this will live, and grow, and expand through the bright sunlight of eternity. Its leaves are for the healing of the nations. This is a religion that commends itself to the heart, to the understanding and conscience of every man. It does not depend for its vitality upon the truth of the material miracles recorded in the New Testament, nor a belief in the plenary inspiration of the Bible. This religion will live, because it is good,—is adapted to human wants, leads to the emancipation of the race from slavery, both of body and mind, and unites them in one bond of brotherhood. It will live, because its fundamental principles are *eternal verities;* true now, and always true. As true before the shepherds heard the song of the angels on the plains of Bethlehem, as after the final catastrophe in the advent of the 'Son of Man.' This religion is essential to the growth, and even to the life of humanity. *About this there need be no fears.* Let us only be imbued with its spirit, and we shall not need 'Venerable Reviews' to teach us there is a God. We shall feel him to be a necessity of our nature. We shall perceive him in our affections, in our hopes; in our aspirations for the Good, the Beautiful, and the True; in that 'longing after immortality,' found alike in Pagan, Mahometan and Christian. We shall not then turn pale with fear, and fancy the Universe, with its Author, is going to be blotted out, in consequence of the speculations of men, who, looking at the idea of God only through the intellect, blunder at last into a series of negations, which would, as certainly, lead to a denial of their own existence as that of the Deity. The worst form of infidelity is not by any means that which denies the name of God, or the personal immortality of the soul. It is that which professes to believe in God and the vicarious atonement of his Son, and then denies him in the persons of his wronged and suffering children. This abounds every where; especially in the so-called 'Church of Christ.' For the Church, in its organized form, when it has become popular, and the established religion in any country, has always been on the side of the oppressor. I know this will be regarded as a reckless and libellous assertion by most people; but history will bear me out in it, surely; that in all ages, the religion of a country, when it has been married to the State, and thus become corrupted by the possession of worldly power, has ever been opposed to reform, and the liberties of the masses. This by no means proves there is no such thing as 'pure and undefiled religion, which visits the widow and the fatherless, and keeps itself unspotted from the world'; but it shows that much passing about as such is *counterfeit*—a cloak for sanctified tyranny and heartless villany: or else has degenerated into *cant*, 'a sort of rag currency, once, perhaps, a sign of bullion, but giving promises to pay now from empty coffers.'

It is easy to wear long faces, make long prayers, and eat bread and drink wine in the name of a 'crucified Savior.' This is done by the greatest robbers and oppressors the world ever saw; by men who fatten on the unpaid toil of the outcast and imbruted slave, and sell him on the auction block to obtain money for the conversion of the heathen; compassing sea and land to make proselytes, and leaving them two-fold more the children of perdition than they were before, by teaching them, in addition to all the other vices which fester and grow under a spurious Christianity, to

'Break the bondman's heart for bread,
Pour the bondman's blood for wine,'

in confirmation of the infinite love manifested in that sublime death on the hill of Calvary, eighteen hundred years ago. To be a sincere follower of the meek and lowly Jesus—to be an earnest and genuine friend of the poor and needy—requires a sacrifice of ease, worldly comfort, and reputation. In an age like ours, those who can make this sacrifice are not numerous, nor '*respectable*.' They do not sit in high places, nor fare sumptuously in Church and State. But they love right, truth, and justice, though they may not worship books, nor become enslaved to worn-out forms and creeds.

But, perhaps I have said enough, and will bring this long letter to a close. There is much more that might be said. Thoughts crowd upon me as I proceed. The subject is creative and elastic as the Hope that buoys us up; broad and deep as the Ocean of Destiny which lies around and before us. But I forbear.

I hope you will so far acquaint yourself with the true history of that gigantic struggle of the French people to rid themselves of a despotism of Church and State, which had preyed upon them for a thousand years, as not again to repeat the stereotyped slanders of the Tory historians of England and the Romish historians of France, about that mighty revolution, even now sadly misunderstood, because so grossly libelled.

I thank you for your letter, especially as it has enabled me to say some things which, in these times, demand an utterance. As I do not know exactly your whereabouts, so as to give you 'a local habitation and a name,' *and as I have not the ear of the people through the pulpit*, I am compelled to invoke the aid of the press, now fast doing the work of the living voice, in the hope that a copy of this reply may penetrate your hiding-place, or, at least, may be seen by some of that large class you represent.

I publish both letters together, that it may be perceived I do you no injustice in the quotations and remarks I make, and because I wish to give those who read, the means of judging which is the BANE, and which the ANTIDOTE.

Yours, for the Living Present rather than the Dead Past,

N. H. WHITING.

GEORGE FOX AND THE CIVIL POWER.

NEW ROCHELLE, 9th month 13, 1853.

TO WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

DEAR FRIEND,—Can the following sentiments, attributed to George Fox, be true? The pamphlet from which this extract is made was published, in 1840, by the representatives of the New England Yearly Meeting, and was subsequently endorsed by the representatives of the New York Yearly Meeting of the same division of the Society, entitled, 'Views of the Society of Friends in relation to Civil Governments.'

'George Fox called upon the civil authorities to interpose its sheltering power to protect his person, and in an epistle to Friends in some of the West India Islands, when the Governor had desired them to take a part in keeping up a watch to protect from incursions, and had granted them the privilege of doing so without their carrying arms, he enters into an argument to show the propriety of their complying; and enjoins them faithfully to perform this service, and report to the magistrates all cases of offence that they may discover, in order that the offender may be arrested in his course and punished.'

Now, for a moment, let us compare the course alleged to have been pointed out by George Fox to his West India friends, with the advice of Jesus Christ to his followers, and see if they harmonize with each other. Jesus says:—'Forgive, and ye shall be forgiven. If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you. But if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.'

My only motive in bringing this subject before the public at this late day, is the hope that it may induce some one, of either division of the Society of Friends, to come forward and reconcile, if they can, the sentiments above attributed to George Fox, with the precepts and example of Jesus.

Thine, for liberty and love,

JOSEPH CARPENTER.

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